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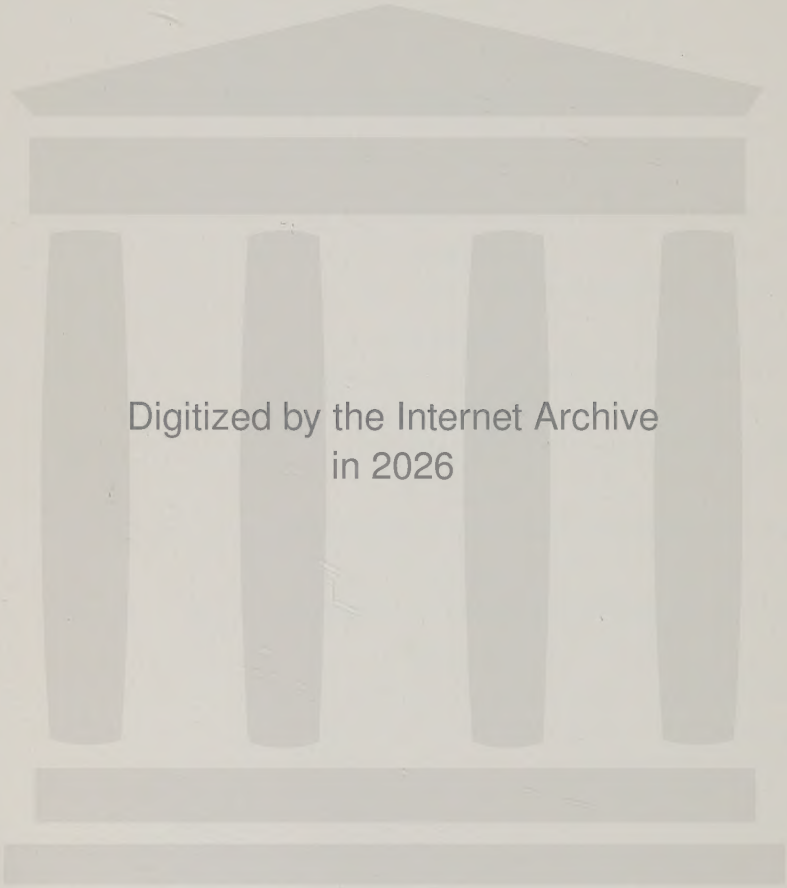
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INTRODUCTION

The task which we have set before us is an attempt to interpret the New Testament conceptions of spirits and the Spirit in the light of the ideas currently held by the people outside Christian circles who lived at the time when the New Testament books were written. This subject has not yet received an adequate treatment from this viewpoint in any separate work, though a number of recent scholars have done much in works of a more general nature to give us material out of which a genetic study of the spirit-phenomena in the New Testament can be made. If any genetic study of the subject has been made at all, it has usually confined itself to the establishing of the relations between the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the Spirit, while the influence of the Hellenistic and Oriental systems of religion and philosophy were entirely overlooked. Even such excellent works as Volz's on the Jewish ideas of the Spirit, Gunkel's on the ideas of the New Testament writers, and Weinel's on the conceptions of the Christians of the sub-apostolic period deal very slightly with this aspect of the subject.[1] They confine themselves chiefly to the testimony of the Jewish and Christian writings and trace the development of spirit-conceptions within those prescribed limits. But the work of such scholars as Reitzenstein, Pfleiderer, Dieterich, Rohde, Cumont, Heitmüller, Bousset, et al., altho not dealing with this subject in particular, has been the occasion of bringing into the foreground the close connection of the New Testament writers not only with Jewish thought but with the thought of the Hellenistic world as well. It is highly desirable then that a genetic study of the New Testament conceptions of spirits and the Spirit, such as would include the whole background and thought-world of the New Testament writers, should be made. For unless such a study be made, the meaning of the New Testament idea of the Spirit as it existed in the minds of the writers will never be rightly understood. And it might not be presumptuous to say that unless the New Testament conceptions of the Spirit are grasped a large part of this literature must remain a sadly misinterpreted, if not a closed, book.

The assumption, of course, upon which we base our method of procedure in this investigation is that religion is a matter of social growth and development, not a matter of static quantities of doctrines and practices divine-

[1] See bibliography at end of volume for the names of these works.

ly revealed to man once for all. And if man, as we believe, was one, if not the, determining factor in this religious process and growth, then the most natural way to deal with such a subject as the spirit-phenomena of the New Testament—and we might well say the same with regard to the study of any other New Testament conception—is, so far as we can, to deal with the process of the development of spirit-ideas from a sociological and psychological viewpoint and to point out their genetic relations with the ideas of contemporary systems of thought.

Our first endeavor then is to find out how the belief in spirits and demons arose in the primitive ages and how these primitive ideas were modified and developed in the thinking of the Graeco-Roman world. But since Christianity arose on Jewish soil and at first was very little more than a Jewish sect, it is necessary also to investigate the conceptions of the Jews regarding spirits and demons, and particularly those of the Jews of New Testament times. This gives us a background for the Christian notions of the Spirit in the first few decades of the movement. But when by the activity of Paul and other missionaries the movement spread to Gentile soil, there naturally came a fusion of the Jewish ideas heretofore held by the Christians and those which the Gentile Christians brought over with them as a heritage from their past history. This leads us to a discussion of the spirit-conceptions in which there is more or less of a Hellenistic element, particularly the conceptions of the Pauline letters and the fourth Gospel. In this discussion we are to concern ourselves not only with the operations of the Spirit in the believer, but with the ideas of the Spirit's relation to Jesus, for these ideas, based on the identification which the Christians made of Jesus with the heavenly being or Logos of Hellenistic thought, and conditioned largely by the Christians' own experiences of the Spirit, evince the fusion of various elements and can be only properly grasped when these elements have been resolved into their constituent parts.

The author wishes to make grateful acknowledgment of the help received in the preparation of this thesis from the professors of the New Testament Department of the University of Chicago, and particularly from Professor S. J. Case under whose direction and with the aid of whose kind advice and suggestions the dissertation was written.

CHAPTER I

Ancient Belief in Spirits and Demons

The world of antiquity according to the conceptions of the people then living was peopled by all kinds of spiritual beings and powers. The earth upon which they stood and walked, the objects, whether animate or inanimate, which went to make up their environment, the air which they breathed, the heavens with their luminaries and starry hosts, were all believed to be full of spirits. These spirits, ordinarily invisible, yet made their presence and reality manifest through the exercise of some inexplicable power, or through the expression of a unique mode of activity in the objects which they were thought to inhabit. Seed was sown in the soil, and some mysterious power in the earth caused it to sprout and grow and bear fruit.[1] Plants and trees must have some soul or spirit in them for they give signs of life and continue to do so until, injured or cut down, they wither and die.[2] A large massive rock or mountain creates a sense of awe in the breast of the savage on-looker, and this sensation can have no other explanation than that it arises from the influence of the spirit of the rock or mountain upon his soul. In truth, the majestic Olympus was the very abode of the great gods.

The action of water as noticed in the bubbling spring or in the restless waves of the ocean or in the rushing flow of the mountain torrent, also

[1] The ancient worship of Gaia (Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ) was no doubt based on the belief that the productive forces of nature were due to the agency of spiritual powers resident in the earth. With the early Thracians Dionysos represented the power of life in vegetation. See Case, Evolution of Early Christianity, ch. 9, but especially p. 298; also Tylor, Primitive Culture, II, pp. 206 ff and 273. In fact, ancient Greek religion consisted very largely of the worship of the forces of nature. In their spring festivals the main idea and object of the worshippers was the placation of the spirits or ghosts of the dead underworld, which they held responsible for the death of vegetable life during winter, and which, they thought, would promote fertility if appeased by sacrifice (Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 53 f.).

[2] Notice the mention of tree-nymphs in Homer, Aphrod. 257. And Ovid is doubtless not only reflecting the conceptions of his own age, but those of the ages preceding, when he speaks of dryads, fauns, and satyrs living in the groves and forests (Metam. VIII, 741). See also Cato, De Re Rustica, 139, and Pliny, XVII, 47. The spirit-inspired oak at Dodona (Homer, Odyss. XIV, 327 and XIX, 296) is, of course, an example merely of the belief in the special inspiration of a particular tree, and yet it represents the general conception which the ancients held as to spirits dwelling in trees and groves.

demands some mysterious indwelling spirit to account for its activity. Nymphs made their home in the spring; Xanthos or Acheloös ruled in the waters of the river; and Poseidon or some terrible monster of the deep dwelt in the waves of the sea. How else could a shipwreck or loss of life by drowning be explained except by assuming that the angry demon of the deep drew his victim beneath the water?[3]

Fire also was regarded as an element possessed of demonic power. In Greece Hestia was the goddess of the hearth; and in Rome Vesta was worshipped in a temple where fire was kept continually burning, the goddess supposedly dwelling in the fire. The gods, Vulcan and Hephaistos, were connected with subterranean volcanic fire.

Again the various activities of the air were supposed to have been caused by the agency of spiritual beings. The Harpies were spirits of the wind,[4] and they somehow were connected with the giving of life not only to men but to animals and plants as well.[5] Rain and snow, thunder and lightning, hail and storm, clouds and rainbow were all ascribed to the activity of demonic powers that ruled and governed the regions of the air.

And so it was with the movements of the heavenly bodies. The sun, moon and stars were alive and animated by their special deities. The worship of the Greek Apollo, the Egyptian Osiris, the Persian Mithras, and the Syrian Elagabalus, all of them Sun-gods, indicates how widespread was the idea of a spirit or god dwelling in the sun and guiding it in its daily course. And the primitive conception of the moon and stars was quite similar.[6]

No one who studies the religious conceptions of primitive peoples or of the races of the lower culture can fail to be impressed with the fact

[3] Victims were regularly sacrificed to the sea until a late period in order to placate the power or powers supposed to dwell therein. Cicero says, "If Earth is a goddess, so also the Sea, whom thou saidst to be Neptune" (De Nat. Deo., III, 20).

[4] Homer, Il. XXIII, 192; Odyss. XX, 37 and 66. Also Vergil, Aen. I, 56.

[5] The Athenians sacrificed to the Tritopatores, i. e. to the ghosts of ancestors or the spirits of the winds, when they were about to marry (Suidas, s. v. Tritopatores). Hippocrates (Geoponica, IX, 3) says the winds give life not only to plants but to all things. And Vergil has a passage where the pregnancy of mares is ascribed to the agency of winds (Georg. III, 274). See also on this point Harrison, *op cit.*, pp. 178 ff.

[6] Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, pp. 129 ff.; Astrology and Religion among Greeks and Romans, p. 116. Murray (Four Stages of Greek religion p. 126 ff.) discusses the worship of the seven planets in later antiquity as described in the Hermetic, the Gnostic, and other ancient religious writings, a custom that had its origin no doubt in quite early stages in the religious development of man.

that they thought of themselves as being surrounded by a vast cloud of witnesses, spiritual beings that were responsible for all the various activities and forces of nature.[7] It was very much as Thales is reported to have said, "All things are full of gods."[8]

The question arises here as to where the primitive races derived their belief in spirits. What was it that led them to give such an interpretation—for in the last analysis the belief in spirits is nothing more than an effort to explain causality in the world—to the natural phenomena of the universe? In answering this question we are thrown back upon another one which deals with primitive man's conception of himself. The law of psychology, which may well be termed universal, that a man always interprets phenomena external to himself from a subjective standpoint and in the light of his own experience, must have played a fundamental part in the forming of primitive conceptions regarding the outer world and the active forces of nature. What man thought of himself, what he experienced in his contact with the forces of his environment, was the element that determined the direction and nature of the explanation which he gave regarding the external conditions, events, and vicissitudes of his life. If he thought of the earth, the air, the stars, as embodiments or possessors of spiritual beings, it was because he first thought of himself as having a spiritual being within him. So a fundamental inquiry to the understanding of the rise of the belief in spirits in external nature is to find out how man came to believe that he had a soul or spirit within himself.

The belief in souls arose no doubt from man's experience with such states as sleep, dreams, death and sickness. He noticed that at certain times his body or that of some other man was active and awake; at other times it lay dormant and in a state of comparative lifelessness. It was but natural that he, a savage, should ascribe the change thus undergone in sleep to the departure of some entity from the body. Again in the depths of night he had dreams in which he saw the form of some distant friend or enemy, or in which he was conscious of himself travelling or wandering in strange and remote places. He knew that

[7] An abundant mass of material illustrating not only the ideas of the ancient Greeks and Romans with regard to the belief in spirits dwelling and acting in nature, but ideas quite similar to the above as held also by the people of the lower culture in other lands of both ancient and modern times, may be found in such works as Frazer, The Golden Bough, 1913-5; Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, 1906; Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 1896-1909; Tylor, Primitive Culture, 1891; *et al.* See extended bibliography in Case, Ev. of Ear. Xty, p. 76 f.

[8] Arist. De Anima, I, 5, 411 A.

his friend or enemy could not possibly have been present in bodily form. And upon waking suddenly from a dream he no doubt realized that his own body was just where it had been before he had fallen asleep. He concluded therefore that the form which he had seen was the phantom, the Shattenseele, of his friend or enemy, and that he himself was possessed of a sort of second self, or soul, an entity quite distinct from his physical organism and able to leave it at will.

It was in a similar way that primitive man interpreted the phenomenon of death. When he saw his comrade's or his enemy's dead body, he supposed that the being that had animated it had now deserted it. The departure of the soul, which in sleep was merely temporary, in death was regarded as permanent. Since death in its bodily manifestations functioned in practically the same way as sleep, it was simply conceived of as a prolonged sleep. The analogy of the two phenomena has so impressed itself upon the human mind that even today the two words are often used synonymously, with however this difference in usage that, whereas death is today often taken to mean the absence of life as an abstract element or principle, in the mind of primitive man it always connoted the departure of a being whose presence in the body gave it life and animation. This being was thought of as residing particularly in the blood or in the breath, for death was seen to take place upon the loss of the one or at the cessation of the other.

Sickness was also conceived of as being due to the agency of spirits or demons. The savage saw his body or the bodies of his comrades waste away;[9] he was a witness of the convulsions, the distortions, the ferocity, and the incoherent raving of the insane and epileptic. He himself perhaps knew what it was to suffer from fever or some mental disorder, and had a knowledge of how the delirious and frenzied acted. He recognized that all these phenomena were abnormal and strange; and hence, just as he ascribed the normal conditions and acts to the soul which ordinarily inhabited the body, he now was led to explain these abnormal conditions on the ground of a strange spirit that had taken possession of the body.[10]

This is doubtless the way in which primitive man came to believe in souls or spirits. Other elements and factors may have had a share

[9] The vampire was regarded as a spirit, either the soul of a living or dead person, which sucked the blood out of its victims (Tylor, Prim. Cult., II, 189).

[10] Homer thinks of sick men as being tormented by demons, Odyss. V, 396; X, 64. And the idea that lay back of the belief in the Keres was that these spiritual beings were the cause for all the ills and diseases of this mortal life, Hesiod., Erg. 90. Even

in the process, such as, for example, the hearing of his voice in echo, the sight of his form as reflected in water, the presence of his shadow, the appearance of distant persons and objects when under the influence of a trance or vision, and the mental excitement of some great emotion. But these were perhaps no more than added proofs lending confirmation to his belief that he was possessed of a soul or spirit, and that in addition to this soul or Körperseele, which was the normal cause of his life, he had a double or second self, a phantom, a Hauch- or Schattenseele. Both of these entities were supposed to be able to leave the body, but the latter's sphere of activity seems to have been limited to dream- and vision-appearances only.[11]

Now it is a feature common to the psychology of all primitive races that no distinction is made between the subjective and objective, between the imagined and the real. The man of the lower culture believes that the human specters which he sees whether in dreams, delirium and mental excitement, or merely in the exercise of his visual memory or imagination, are objectively real. And hence, since he, arguing from his own experience and from his conception of himself, is convinced that other men and animate objects have souls and phantoms too, he peoples the world about him with spirits and ghosts. Furthermore since he sees the phantoms of his dead friends and enemies in his dreams and visions, he infers that the ghosts or souls of the dead are still alive and are able to wander back to the earth from the abode of the dead.[12] This belief of course added a multitude of spiritual beings to the milieu of the savage, already so full of spirits.

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blindness was caused in this way, Eur. Phoen. 950. For further discussion of the Keres see Harrison, Proleg. to Study of Gr. Relig., ch. 5. They were germs or bacilli conceived of as disease-spirits. On this subject consult also Wundt, Elemente der Völkerpsychologie, p. 83, and Thompson, Devils, II, Tablet XI, line 1 ff., and II, Tablet M, line 1 ff.

[11] For further material on the subject of the rise of the belief in souls or spirits, see Tylor, Prim. Cult., I, 428 ff.; Wundt, Elemente der Völkerpsychologie, pp. 203 ff.; Toy, Introduction to the History of Religions, secs. 39-44; and Leuba, the Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion, ch. 3. For passages illustrative of the belief in dream-souls, see Homer, Il. XXIII, 59; Odyss. XI, 207, 222; Porphyr. De Antro Nympharum; Vergil, Aen. II, 794; and Ovid, Fasti, V, 475. These references no doubt reflect ideas much older than the time of their writers.

[12] This belief in the return of spirits from the dead coupled with the thought that their placation was necessary to ward off their harmful influence, was doubtless the occasion for the rise of the cults of the dead which prevailed so widely in ancient times, and have continued in some lands even to the present day, particularly in Oriental countries. It was quite generally believed that if a ghost became hungry, or

The evidence given by those who have studied primitive religions seems sufficient to establish this as the way in which the belief in the existence of spirits in external nature arose. As men's lives and actions under normal circumstances were regarded as having been caused by souls or spirits, either dwelling within or acting upon the human body, so the cause for the various physical operations of the outer world was traced to the same kind of soullike beings residing in or acting upon the objects of nature.[13]

The next step in the development of spirit-ideas was no doubt the classification of spiritual beings into groups according to the analogy of the classes in human society. The hero was one who had distinguished himself in his earthly life because of some deed of prowess or some signal act of service to his family, clan, or state. It was but natural that since he had thus manifested his superiority over his fellow mortals in this life, his ghost should be regarded as existing on a higher plane than the ordinary in the abode of the dead. The same human analogies played a part in the origin of primitive ideas regarding demons and gods. The chief ruled over his tribe or clan; he had sons and daughters of his own; he was surrounded by his counsellors; his messengers made known his will, and his soldiers fought his enemies. These human relations were conceived of as continuing in the world of spirits, and thus the idea of a god ruling over subordinate spirits or demons originated.[14] In this way also were the beings of the invisible world, as it were, classified and graded.[15] But of course there was no fast

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if the body in which it had dwelt was not properly buried, or if due rites and sacrifices were not made in its honor, it would return to earth to afflict the living. The Greek festival, Anthesteria, was devoted to this Manesworship, or Manism, as Wundt calls it. And Ovid (Fasti, V, 443) mentions a rite belonging to the Roman Lemuria festival in which the father of a family had to drive away the ancestral ghosts. "Shade of my fathers, depart," he repeated nine times as a part of the ritual. Harrison, *op. cit.* ch. 2.

[13] The idea of spirits acting as personified causes in even inanimate objects is illustrated by a custom described by Herodotus (I, 189; VII, 34) who says that a court of justice was held at Prytaneum to judge any inanimate or irrational object, such as an ox or a piece of stone, which had without any known human agency caused the death of anyone. If found guilty, the object was cast outside the border. This custom is also referred to in Porpyhry, De Abstinentia, II, 30, and Pausan. I, 28.

[14] Men have always interpreted the Deity and the relations that exist between the inhabitants of the spiritual world in accordance with the relations existing between the members of the society in which they happen to live. In a monarchy God is a king; in a democracy, a father and fellow-companion.

[15] So far as the literary remains of human history inform us, Hesiod was doubtless the first to sketch this classification of spiritual beings. He mentions the four

line of demarcation between these various classes of spiritual beings.[16] Nor was it impossible for members of one class to rise or fall to a position higher or lower than his own rank. The ghost of a hero could rise to the rank of a god.[17] The demons were very desirous of being regarded as deities and sought deification;[18] and in case a demon became so well known as to receive a name he was classed as a god.[19] And among the gods themselves there was often a shift of position and rank.[20] On the other hand, evil spirits were sometimes thought of as heavenly beings who had fallen from their high estate.[21]

As for the constitution and form of a spiritual being, the primitive conception of a ghost-soul was that it possessed the likeness of human form and was in its constituency of a very fine substance, something like air, wind, or fire. Primitive man also ascribed to many of the demons, and to the gods in general, human shape and passions, as well as the quality of ethereality or vaporous materiality. The Homeric

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classes: gods, demons, heroes, and the souls of men. He evidently ranks demons higher than heroes, and identifies them with the souls of those who lived in the Golden Age of the past (Erg. 109, 122 ff., 159, 172, 251 ff.). For a discussion of the points of differentiation made by primitive peoples between gods, demons, and heroes, see Wundt, *op. cit.* pp. 348-369. He contends for the priority of the belief in magic and spirits to that in gods, and cites instances of tribes living today who have not yet arrived at the stage where gods form a part of their thought-world, though they have a belief in supersensuous beings. He claims that a god was distinguished from a demon or hero in three ways: (a) his place of abode was not the same; (b) his life was perfect and immortal, and was not subject to sickness nor death; and (c) his personality, though anthropomorphically conceived of, was yet superhuman. Demons and heroes might have one or the other of these characteristics, but not all three combined.

[16] See Rohde, Psyche, I, 96 ff. and 255 for statements regarding souls that become demons and gods; also in the same work s. v. Dämonen and Seelen. Josephus reflects this primitive idea in Wars VI, 1, 5 (47).

[17] Such was the case with Hercules and Asklepios, Harrison (Prolegomena, p. 341) to the contrary.

[18] Plutarch, though a late writer, is no doubt in accord with primitive conceptions when he says that demons, though not gods, desire to be called gods and to be honored as such (Why the Oracles Cease, 20). Porphyry too tells how the demons who wish to be gods long for the fumes of sacrifice by which their spiritual and bodily substance is nourished, for the odor of blood and flesh is regarded as giving them strength (De Abstinentia, II, 42).

[19] See Foucart, Encyc. of Rel. and Eth., art., "Demons and Spirits (Egyptian)."

[20] When the mystery-cults became flourishing, Demeter rose from the position of an earth-goddess to that of an Olympian. And the same might be said of Dionysos (Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Eurip., Bacch., 416).

[21] This is the conception particularly of the authors of Job and Ethiopic Enoch. See Barton, Encyc. of Rel. and Eth., art., "Demons and Spirits (Hebrew)."

gods and the Angel of Jehovah are examples of the anthropomorphic ideas of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews. The spirits which were supposed to reside in objects of nature were of course not thought of as having human shape, but nevertheless they were generally regarded as personal beings possessing the powers of intelligence and will. It is not until man reaches the stages of the higher culture and of philosophical speculation that he arrives at the idea of life, causality and spirit as abstractions.

Now becuse the spirits and deities were thus anthropomorphically and personally apprehended, they were also thought of as living in close intercourse with mortal men. The souls of the dead supposedly hovered about the tomb or place of burial, or were wont to return from the underworld to seek embodiment,[22] to wreak vengeance upon some previous enemy, or to appear to some friend or relative. Through the festivals for the dead the association which the living enjoyed with the dead before their departure from the earth was supposedly continued; yet the souls of the dead were in the main regarded with terror by most of the peoples of antiquity, and sacrifices were quite universally offered to placate them. The dead were regarded as revealing the future through dreams and visions, and the conception also prevailed that a man's soul might in a dream or vision penetrate the underworld and thus gain a knowledge of its secrets.[23] The spirits of heroes too were thought of as being in close touch with the living. They were still active in rendering service to those whom they had aided while alive or those who afterwards became their worshippers. They were accustomed to appear to men particularly at springs and wells, which were sacred to them. Asklepios continued to heal by incubation those who came to his temple.[24]

The demons also were in constant communication with the living. They flitted about in the air and were continually striving to get possession of some human body, or to inhabit some object of nature. In general, we might say that there were two kinds of demons which were supposed to take up their abode in men, viz., disease-spirits and oracle-

[22] This idea formed the basis for the belief in the transmigration of the soul, so prevalent in the religions of India and referred to so often in the works of Plato and other Greek writers. See Diog. Laert., Empedocles, 12, where the claim of Pythagoras is made that he was the soul of Euphorbos, whom Menelaus slew at the seige of Troy, in a new body.

[23] Homer (Odyss. XI) describes the visit of Odysseus to the regions of the dead. Later references to visions of the future world are found in Lucian, Philopseudes, 17-28; Plut., De Sera Numinis Vindicta, XXII; and Euseb., Praep. Evang. 11, 36.

[24] Harrison, Proleg., pp. 341 ff.

spirits. The former caused all the mental disorders and diseases of life, and were to be exorcised. The latter caused dreams, visions, and ecstasy, and were to be longed for. The former could be kept off by the performance of ritual, the eating of certain strong herbs like buckthorn, the sounding of brass, and the making of comic figures. Care had to be taken particularly when food was eaten, for the demons were apt to enter the body with the food, and especially when meat was taken, because they were fond of it and were thought to be more closely connected with a thing that once had had life and blood in it. The oracle-spirits were induced to enter the body by means of fasting, by the eating of laurel, by drinking wine, by partaking of certain drugs, by the playing of musical instruments, etc.

The gods too were not conceived of as living at any remote distance from mankind.[25] And so long as the deities were regarded as living in close association with men, possession by a god meant practically the same thing as possession by a demon; in practice at least the two phenomena can scarcely be differentiated. The Delphian prophetess chewed laurel leaves,[26] fasted, and inhaled the gases that issued from the orifice in the ground, and thus became possessed of Apollo and prophesied.[27] The worshipper of Dionysos used ivy, drank wine, and ate the raw flesh of the sacred bull. In this way he became inspired by the god. The result was a frenzy and an ecstasy that no doubt finds a close parallel in the mad ravings of the early Hebrew prophets.[28]

It was in this way that the savage and barbarian held intercourse with the invisible beings of the spiritual world.

But we should not fail to notice here also the prominent part which the idea of *mana*, or spiritual force, played in the intercourse between spirits and men. Codrington[29] defines *mana* thus: "It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man

[25] "The idea of a god far away in the sky is not easy for primitive man to grasp. It is a subtle and rarefied idea, saturated with ages of philosophy and speculation" (Murray, Four Stages of Greek Religion, p. 23).

[26] Sophocles, frag. 811.

[27] Chrysostom, Hom. XXIX, I Cor. 12:2, reflects no doubt the Christian version of a primitive belief when he says that an evil spirit comes from beneath the Pythoness as she sits on her tripod, enters her body, and fills her with madness.

[28] I Sam. 19:18-24.

[29] Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 119 n. For further information on the subject of *mana* see Marett, Encyc. of Rel. and Eth., art., "Mana," and the bibliography there given.

possesses. This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone." This idea of *mana*, which was originally no doubt a term used only by the Pacific tribes, is practically to be identified with a similar conception held as well by most savage races outside of the Pacific group, for example, the *orenda* idea of the Iroquois, the *wakan* of the Sioux, the *manitu* of the Algonquins, the *hasina* of the Madagascar tribes, etc.; and hence may be regarded as a universal feature of primitive belief. It was used to explain the forces that operate in extraordinary ways, the striking shape of certain natural objects, or the abnormal character and power of certain individuals. In other words, it represents the power, might, or influence of the being or object inhabited by a spirit. In a sense every man has *mana*, but the amount which different individuals possess varies according to the power which they can wield over other individuals. The medicine-man, the physician, the seer, the king, the priest, all had more *mana* than ordinary men; and that explained their superhuman power. Furthermore *mana* was unmoral, and could be used for either good or ill. It was therefore thought advisable for an individual either to acquire enough of this power to surpass that of the objects or persons he feared, or to win the goodwill of the being who had it also.

The way in which this *mana* could be acquired was by coming in contact with a person or object that possessed it to an extraordinary degree. This contact could be effected in various ways: by looking upon, or touching the person or object; by spitting on or speaking to it; by using its hair, skin, or faeces; by pronouncing its name; by the possession of its image, or some object that once belonged to it; by the giving of presents, or the payment of money; or by simply eating the object.[30] The possession of a tiger's whiskers was believed to give a man possession of his *mana*. Achilles was fed on wild beasts' flesh, with the thought that by doing this he would acquire their power. The native Australians are said to eat the kidney-fat of a slain enemy in order thus to add his strength to their own. It was also believed that the performance of certain magical rites and initiatory ceremonies, the visitation of a trance or dream, the forcible injection of magic crystals or shell into the body would add to one's stock of power. *Mana* could also be transmitted by inheritance; and this idea no doubt formed the

[30] Halliday, Greek Divination, ch. 2, deals with this subject in greater detail.

basis for the rise of prophetic guilds and of the notion of the lineal succession of kings. In Greek history we read of the mantis effecting union with his god by eating laurel, by drinking divine water or the blood of the sacred bull, or by allowing a snake to bite him. Taboos arose chiefly because it was felt that ritual purity was necessary before a man could with impunity approach a person or object possessing this awe-inspiring and sacred power. If one wished to avert the evil influence and activity of *mana*, he had either to overcome the person or object possessing it by the exercise of his own *mana*, or to enlist the aid of some other *mana*-possessed person, or object. This explains the prevalence of sorcerers, magicians, charms and amulets among primitive peoples. But as man was often unsuccessful in overcoming his ills and enemies in this way, he resorted to the restrictions and prohibitions of the taboo-system in order that this at times malevolent power might remain quiescent and not come out into the open to do him hurt.

Thus we see that primitive man believed himself to be surrounded by a host of spiritual beings and forces, which could take possession of, or act upon, not only inanimate objects, but his own body as well. When thus possessed or acted upon, he usually thought of himself as being actuated or moved by a will or force not his own, his body becoming for the time being a mere instrument of the spirit. The possibility of a spiritual being, which was conceived of as being constituted of very fine substance, entering and penetrating another material being never disturbed his mind, for he believed in the penetrability of matter. It was in this way that he explained both the normal and the abnormal conditions of his body and mind. Furthermore, he was convinced that his power, whether physical or mental, could be increased to superhuman proportions by his coming into contact with a being which had superhuman power. This contact was effected either by his soul leaving his body and entering the world of spirits, or by a spirit taking possession of his body. It was for this reason that he employed various means and agencies to induce dreams, visions and ecstatic conditions; it was in this way that he could get the strength and power of the spirits.

Now when we come to New Testament times, or to what is known as the Graeco-Roman period of history, we find that in general these primitive ideas concerning spirits and demons persisted, though some of their crudities, to be sure, had disappeared. But we notice that along certain lines there was more or less of change and progress, due no doubt to a variety of causes, among which we might mention the spread of Greek culture as a result chiefly of Alexander's conquests, the introduc-

tion into the West of various Oriental cults and ideas, the rise and consolidation of the Roman Empire, the spirit of cosmopolitanism and individualism that arose largely as a result of the political conditions of the times, and the unwonted activity and interest of philosophers and learned men in the practical affairs of life.

Among the changes that took place in the beliefs of the people regarding spirits and demons, we might point first of all to the tendency toward a monotheistic conception of Deity. This tendency manifested itself, it is true, even before the Graeco-Roman period, but it came to a climax, as it were, during this time. Among the later Hebrews, who were greatly influenced by the religious ideas of the Persians, monotheism developed from the time of the exile.[31] And as Ahura Mazda in Persia, Ptah in Egypt,[32] and Jehovah among the Jews became the one supreme Deity, so in Greece and Rome Zeus and Jupiter became the all-controlling Ruler of the universe. There were no doubt various causes and elements that played a part in this development, but perhaps the chief one was the introduction into the Graeco-Roman world of Oriental thought, which in the main was characterized by a monotheistic view of the world. Nevertheless the tendency to model the heavenly pantheon according to the pattern of social and political institutions, which in this period were predominantly of a monarchical type, as the Imperial regime in Rome shows; the effort of the philosophers to find in all the universe a first cause, and to reduce the many to the one; the ascription of all the various phenomena in the universe to the different activities of one and the same spiritual agency; the tendency to think of the world as being animated by one all-pervasive spirit as the body was animated by one soul or spirit; all these too must have had an influence in fusing into one common personality all the attributes of the great polytheistic powers.[33] The result of this monotheistic development was on the one hand to ascribe a large number of names to the Supreme Deity,[34] but it also tended to increase the host of demons and other spiritual beings of subordinate rank, for many of those beings formerly regarded as

[31] This is especially to be noted in Deutero-Isaiah and the later prophets.

[32] The London Inscriptions (especially Z59) given by Reitzenstein in Poimandres p. 62 ff., show the tendency toward monotheism in Egypt.

[33] References to the monotheistic views of the time may be found in Wessely, Paris Magical Papyrus, V, 2838; Aeschylus, frag. 70 n; Cicero, Acad., II, 118; Seneca, Nat. Ques., I, pref. 13; Lactantius, V, 238 (Rzach); Sibylline Oracles, V, 11 f.; Marcus Aurelius, IV, 23; Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 39, 1; and Norden, Agnostos Theos, pp. 240-250.

[34] Ahura Mazda possesses 72 names.

gods no longer were thought of as occupying a first place in the pantheon, but as ranking with the demons. The contact of one cult with another generally resulted in the devotees of the one calling the gods of the other demons or evil spirits,[35] though the fusion of various cults, which was one of the noteworthy features of the syncretistic movement of the age, tended on the other hand to reduce their number by identifying the gods and demons of the various systems. This tendency manifested itself even among the Jewish people, as is evident from the statement of Philo, in which he says that souls, demons, and angels differ only in name but are in reality one.[36]

The Graeco-Roman period was also a time when the grandeur and the stability of the Roman State was impressing itself upon the minds of the people. And especially after the establishment of the Empire did they come to respect and honor the Emperor who stood, as it were, as the living representative or embodiment of the Roman power, and who in a sense was given credit for the benefactions and services which the Roman State was rendering the world. As a result of this the worship of heroes was greatly stimulated and Emperor-worship was soon established as a state-cult, and became particularly active in the eastern provinces where the king from early ages had been regarded as of divine descent.

Another change that took place about this time was the development of transcendental ideas. Where formerly most of the gods and spirits were chthonian beings, or at least associated with men on the earth, the abode of the deities, and in some cases even of the spirits of the dead, was now transferred from the earth and underworld to the skies. This was no doubt largely due to the influence of Oriental astrology, which so strongly affected the West at this time.[37] A great gulf came gradually to be fixed between the earth and heaven, between man and his gods. And hence the need came to be felt for some being, some mediating agent that could span this gulf and effect the reunion of man and Deity. This union could not be achieved, it was believed, unless some being with a knowledge of divine and heavenly things would come down from heaven and give men a knowledge of a safe way to heaven or to the sun, moon and stars which by very many

[35] Many of the angels, saints and demons of Christian belief were deities in polytheistic systems.

[36] De Gigantibus, IV.

[37] Cumont in his two works cited above has done much to point out the influence of Oriental astrology in the Graeco-Roman civilization.

came to be regarded as the future abode of the soul,[38] or unless, accompanied by some demon, angel, or spirit, the soul could ascend to heaven.[39] The belief in guardian angels and demons became so prominent in this period no doubt in part at least because there was a real need felt for an external power not only to guide the soul aright in this life but to accompany it in its upward flight after death.

But another influence came into the Graeco-Roman world along with Oriental culture, which placed the emphasis upon a direct union with the Deity. This was Oriental mysticism, and was represented for the most part by the so-called mystery-religions.[40] It was no doubt the individualistic tendencies of the period that called forth these religions and enabled them to gain such influence and currency among the people. Men began to feel that they sustained a relation to the unseen powers as individuals, not merely as members of a family, tribe, or community. What they wanted was not so much political freedom as personal salvation. In the presence of the gods and demons, and oppressed by the new demands that were being made upon their lives as individuals in a great Empire, a sense of unworthiness, of utter failure, of impurity took possession of the hearts of many, and both the religions and philosophies of the time give evidence of efforts that were made to minister to the needs of such people. Orphism, to cite one example, was chiefly concerned with the problem of satisfying the peoples' yearning after purity and after the power to overcome the evil forces that surrounded them. And this was effected, so it was promised, by the worshipper becoming united with the Deity. In fact it was a common doctrine of all the mysteries that by the performance of certain purifi-

[38] The Pythagoreans and the later Platonists in particular believed that the stars and moon were the dwelling place of purified spirits (Rohde, Psyche, II, p. 443 n.4). "We become as stars when anyone dies" (Arist., Pac., 831).

[39] Porphyry (Stobaeus, Eclogues, II, 171) speaks of the soul going through the seven spheres, the moon being the gateway for its descent, the sun for its ascent. The so-called Mithrasliturgy of Dieterich is perhaps no more than a magical formula by which the soul could be safely guided to the highest heavens (Cumont, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique, XLVII, p. 1-10). On the notion of the soul's ascent to heaven see Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römischer Kultur, esp. pp. 170-176).

[40] These religions, with the exception of the Eleusinian which seems to have been indigenous to Greece, and the Orphic which had perhaps a Thracian origin, entered the Greek and Roman worlds from the sixth century B. C. onward. The worship of the Phrygian Cybele entered Greece as early as the sixth century B. C. and was granted official sanction in Italy in 204 B. C. Mithraism doubtless came later, but must have been strong in Asia Minor as early as the first century A. D. For a description of these mystery-religions see Case, Ev. of Early Xty, ch. 9 where extended bibliographies on the subject are also given.

catory rites, by the enactment of a sacred drama, by the sight of certain representations of the god, and by partaking of a certain kind of food in which the power of the god was thought to reside, the devotee could come into direct union with the Deity, indeed, could himself become divine. In this way it was thought possible either for a god to become incarnate in a man or for a man to become a god. This was especially the case with the Dionysiac and Orphic cults. The worshippers of Dionysos became Bacchoi, that is, Bacchus became incarnate in them.[41] The devotees of Osiris were taught that after death they became Osiris;[42] and Orphism declared that by partaking of an animal consecrated to the god the worshipper could enter spiritually into the divine life and be made one with the Deity.[43] The large number of papyri dealing with this type of thought which have been discovered in recent years, leads one to believe that this mysticism must have been very widespread in New Testament times.

And there is one more characteristic of the age which perhaps effected a greater change than any other in the belief respecting spirits and demons, and that was the emphasis which was put upon ethical ideas and moral conduct. It is this moral element that chiefly separates the primitive type of religion from that of the higher culture: the religion of the savage and barbarian is a crude childlike natural philosophy, the religion of the higher type is one that deals with the law of righteousness and holiness, of trust and duty. So far as primitive ideas regarding spirits were concerned, the ethical element was almost altogether absent. Practically the only distinction that was made between good and evil spirits was to ascribe that which secured personal advantage or pleasure to a good spirit, and that which occasioned loss or pain to an evil one. Even among the ancient Hebrews there was no application of a moral standard to the acts of a spirit or of Jehovah.[44] But from about the time of Isaiah and Plato onward a distinctive moral element was introduced, and this continued until in the New Testament period

[41] Arist., Eq., 408.

[42] In the Egyptian Book of the Dead (125) this statement is addressed to the worshipper of Osiris, "Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be god instead of mortal."

[43] Pausanias (IX, 39, 7) refers to the belief that Hermes became incarnate in the ministrants at the oracle of Trophonius and Lebadea.

[44] Some of the acts of Samson which are ascribed to spiritual agency are not specially noteworthy for their moral quality (Jud. 14:19 for example), and even Jehovah is made responsible for the sending of false and evil spirits (I Sam. 16:14; I Kg. 22:19-23; Amos. 3:6.

the movement had attained an immense momentum. The philosophers had practically become preachers of morality. The religions of the time were placing emphasis more and more upon the inner life; in fact, to such an extent did they stress a pure and holy character and type of conduct that morbidness and priggishness often ensued. Especially was this the case with Orphism.

Now this emphasis upon morality had a number of distinct effects upon the belief in spirits and demons. On the one hand, there arose a clearer differentiation between good and evil spirits, on the other hand, and doubtless as a result of such a differentiation, a distinction came to be made not only as to the place where the souls of the righteous and wicked should live in the future, but also as to the nature of the reward which they should there receive. The temper of the age was essentially dualistic. The sense of sin, the dualistic conception of spirit and matter which was developed largely as a result of the teachings of the Orphics and Pythagoreans, as well as the influence of Oriental religions, led men to divide the innumerable beings of the spirit world into two great camps, the one composed of the forces of light and righteousness, the other made up of the spirits and demons of darkness and sin. Where monarchical institutions prevailed, these forces were thought of as being led on the one hand by an Ahura Mazda or a Jehovah, and by an Ahriman or Satan on the other. In countries like Greece where democratic ideas predominated, these forces, at least the forces of evil, were never organized according to such a principle, but the people believed nevertheless in these two classes of spirits the one opposed to the other. The Jews sometimes distinguished the two classes by calling the one angels and the other demons. Yet they also had the thought of evil or fallen angels.[45] With the Greeks and Romans the word, demons, included both classes.[46]

As a consequence also of this differentiation of spiritual beings an evil genius or demon as well as a good one came to be attached to individuals.[47] Plutarch gives expression to such a belief when he has the *kakodaimon* of Brutus say, "I am thine evil genius; we meet again at

[45] I En. 6:1-6; II Bar. 56:11-13.

[46] Plutarch makes the statement (Why the Oracles Cease, 17) that Empedocles, Plato, Xenocrates and Chrysippus affirm that there are bad demons as well as good ones. However with the syncretic philosophers, especially the Neo-Platonists, the words, angel and demon, were used synonymously, though they claimed that some angels and demons were good but others were evil. Philo, De Gigan., 4.

[47] Verg., Aen., VI, 743; Horace, Epis., II, 187; Valer. Max. 1, 7.

Philippi."[48] It was also felt that the fate of a man depended upon the ability of his good demon to overcome the evil demons of his enemies. Anthony was warned by an Egyptian sorcerer to keep far from the young Octavius on the ground that his demon was in fear of that of the latter.[49]

This dualistic conception of the world which seems to have been so closely connected with the ethical movement of the time, was responsible for another characteristic idea of the period, and that was the divine or heavenly origin of the soul. This belief is reflected by Plutarch when he speaks of the rational soul as being "plunged into the body,"[50] and where he describes the demons as living in the air and says that some, not being able to contain themselves, "rove about until they are entangled into mortal bodies."[51] Philo too is evidently under the influence of the same type of thought. According to his conception man is a composition of earthly substance and divine spirit. Man's mind or rational soul comes from God's breath or inspiration; it is a fragment of Deity; while his irrational soul, that is, the powers of sensation, speech, and generation, comes from the rational part. But he believes also that the air is full of souls and that some of these descend into mortal bodies, while others become the Creator's servants.[52] The body then came to be looked upon as a sort of prison for the soul, and men felt that to obtain its release the attainment of a certain emotional experience or a certain kind of divine knowledge was necessary. Religion took an inward turn. Instead of men directing their attention to the outer world or outward performance of rites they became introspective. The people in general, of course, felt that the help of Deity—perhaps in the form of a representative or mediator—was still needed to bring this experience or gnosis. But inward purity and that of the individual soul was emphasized as never before, while on the part of some teachers there was a tendency to affirm even the possibility of obtaining salvation without any external aid, the original endowment of the soul or a good moral character being considered sufficient to save.[53]

[48] Brutus, 36.

[49] Ovid, Trist., III, 33, 18; V, 5, 10; Horace, Epis., II, 1, 140; Odes, IV, 11, 7: Appian, De Bellis Parth., 156; Tertul., Apol., 23; Censorin, De Die Natali, 3.

[50] Discourse Concerning Soc. Demon, 22.

[51] Why the Orac. Cease, 10.

[52] De Opif. Mund., 131 (46); Leg. Alleg., I, 13; De Gigan., 2 and 3; De Somn., I, 6; I, 22; and see also Plato, Cratylus, 400.

[53] Heraclitus, frag. 119 (Diels) said, "Character is each man's divinity." Epicharmus, frag. 258 (Kaibel) asserts that man's inner self is his real divinity. Plato in Timaeus 90A gives expression to the thought that God has given to each man the

This ethical movement also had the effect of separating the place where the good spirits lived in the future from the place of the wicked.[54] At least this was true so far as the spirits of the dead were concerned. The older belief regarding the abode of the dead was that it was in the underworld or on the earth somewhere and was the home of the undistinguished crowd. Both the righteous and the wicked were living in it. Even as late as the easy-going and aristocratic Olympians the idea of a place of punishment for the unjust is quite absent from the thought of the people. But later the conceptions of the joys of Elysium for the just and of fiery Tartarus for the wicked came to prevail. And by the time of the New Testament period the idea of heaven as the abode of the blessed and hell as the place of punishment for the wicked had become quite widespread, though it must be admitted that by many the underworld was still regarded as the proper abode of all the dead.[55]

Along these various lines we see then wherein the people of the Graeco-Roman period had advanced upon the primitive races in their notions about spirits and demons. But we are not to think however that the earlier conceptions had disappeared: many of them still persisted; some of them were merely modified. The people of the Graeco-Roman world still believed that diseases and mental disorders were caused by the actions of demons. They still believed in oracle-spirits. They still ascribed the operations of nature to the agency of spiritual forces. They still held to the idea of the penetrability of matter and never doubted the possibility of a spiritual being or substance taking possession of a man's body. They still explained the strange and inexplicable phenomena of their experiences and environment as being due

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rational faculty as a guiding genius. And in Theaetetus 176 and Laws 727 he claims that a man can hold communion with Deity through moral action and life. Cf. also the statement made by Marcus Aurelius(II, 17): "What then is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing and only one, philosophy. But this consists in keeping the demon within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose," etc. And although Plutarch believed in demons and seemingly in the need of help from without, he does insist upon the necessity of a certain type of mind and a proper use of reason before the gods and demons will help a man (Disc. Concern. Soc. Dem., 20 and 22).

[54] Oriental dualistic and astrological notions doubtless played a prominent part in the process too.

[55] Plato (Rep., 363D and E) describes the Orphic Hades and says that the impious and unjust were there all besmirched with mud and were obliged to perform the fruitless task of attempting to carry water in a sieve.

to the presence and activity of spirits. They still claimed that man had a double self, or guardian demon. They still peopled the air and elements, the heaven and the earth with a host of spiritual beings and powers. In fact, one might almost call the New Testament period the age of Demonology.[56]

And the large place which this belief in spirits and demons occupied in the thinking and life of the people of New Testament times should not be regarded as a degeneration, as a backward step in the religious progress of the race. In part it was called forth as a defence of mythology and as an apologetic for religious practices and traditions that no longer accorded with the standards of the new age. But a far more important reason for the prominence of this feature of the Graeco-Roman thought-world was the pragmatic interests which it served. It was used as a means of establishing a connection between man and the Deity and of furnishing spiritual support to thousands who because of a sense of their own insufficiency and because of the weakening influence of the pessimistic view of life and the world which prevailed, felt the need of some superhuman power to help them to overcome the evil forces, both imagined and real, that they believed surrounded them.[57] That the writers of the New Testament books shared in large part the thought of their contemporaries with regard to this subject will be seen as we proceed with our investigation.

[56] See Gomperz, Greek Thinkers, ch. 1, secs. 5 & 6. It should be noted that the Epicureans among the Greeks and the Sadducees among the Jews were almost the only ones who had the courage, insight, or disposition to differ from the prevailing opinion as to a belief in spirits.

[57] See Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, pp. 425 ff.

CHAPTER II

Jewish Beliefs in Spirits and Demons

It is only partly true that the Jews were unique in their religious development. It is true that the strong nationalistic sense which grew up among them as early at least as the eighth century before Christ led them to assume an exclusive attitude toward the peoples of other races and lands. It is true that later as a result of their domination by foreign powers their nationalistic aspirations and sentiments were either intensified or else were compelled to take refuge in the thought of a coming deliverer from heaven. In both cases the idea of Israel as being God's chosen people dominated their thinking. It is true too that when they began to think of their Scriptures as divinely inspired, they would not feel any great need of adopting the religious ideas of their neighbors, since God's revelation to them was sufficient in itself. So both their national hopes and their conception of their sacred writings tended, and have tended up to the present time, to keep the Jews separate as a people from those among whom they live. And since therefore their social and political history has not been exactly like that of other peoples, their religious history naturally reveals certain points of uniqueness.

But on the other hand we are not to think of their religious progress in the main as exhibiting any very marked features of differentiation from that of other ancient peoples. The study of comparative religions is revealing the fact that the Hebrews went through quite a similar process of development as that described in the previous chapter. It is doubtful whether their isolation and exclusiveness was ever so rigid that they were altogether a law unto themselves. It is difficult to believe that a people politically dominated in turn by Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, and in large part scattered throughout the then known world could keep itself aloof from all the influences of the culture and civilization that made up their environment. The Sadducees and such men like Philo and Josephus are proof sufficient to show that both the Palestinian Jews and the Jews of the Dispersion were affected by the influence of the Gentile world, the former, of course, not coming under the force of this influence to as large a degree simply because the contact was not so close. So while being willing to admit the uniqueness of some of the Jewish religious conceptions and even their superiority over some of

those of the other ethnic religions of the time whether in the richness of their ethical tones or in the loftiness of their God-ideas, we can not help but feel that in many ways, especially in their notions of spirits, the Jews were a part of the world in which they lived, and hence that much that has been said and written about the Jewish religion has been largely an ideal picture. The best in Jewish religion has generally been contrasted with that which was the worst in contemporary systems and cults. This method has served a good apologetic purpose.

We are here primarily concerned with the post-exilic spirit-conceptions of the Jews and particularly with their ideas at the time when Christianity first began as a movement. For the pneumatic experiences of the first Christians issued from life rather than from the reading of a book, and hence must be connected up with the contemporary Jewish thought-world rather than with the spirit-conceptions recorded in the Old Testament. And yet for two reasons a word is in place here regarding the Old Testament ideas of spirits, (1) because these ideas reveal the fact that the Hebrews in the main followed the universal course of religious development, and (2) because the early Christians did make use of the Old Testament Scriptures and interpreted some of their experiences in the light of what they learned there. The use of the prophecy of Joel by Peter on the day of Pentecost is an illustration of the way in which this method was used.

It is clear that in many ways the ancient Hebrews had the same ideas of spirits and the same psychology as the other ancient peoples. The soul was a spiritual being animating the body.[1] At death it departed from the body and joined the other departed spirits.[2] Intercourse between the dead and living was held to be possible.[3] A spirit could inhabit an inanimate object.[4] Spirits were the cause of disease and mental disorders.[5] Any occurrence or act of an awe-inspiring, unusual, unexpected, or remarkable nature was ascribed to the influence of a spirit.[6] The belief in oracle-spirits was particularly well-developed and a large part of the spirit-phenomena of the Old Testament is concerned

[1] Gen. 2:7.

[2] Gen. 49:33 *et al.* It is doubtful whether the Jews ever thought of a spirit in an incorporeal form of existence. Their belief in the resurrection of the body shows that even in their later history they still clung to the corporeal idea of spirit.

[3] I Sam. 28:3-14.

[4] Ex 7:8-13.

[5] I Sam. 16:14 ff.

[6] Jud. 14:6; I Sam. 18:10 ff.; Amos. 3:8; Job 9:24.

with the operations of the spirit of prophecy. Supernatural knowledge was obtained either by a spirit descending into a man or by the soul of man leaving his body and penetrating the spiritual world.[7] Commencing with a belief in a plurality of divine beings, as the term Elohim indicates, there grew up gradually a monotheistic conception of the Deity, surrounded by groups of subordinate beings, cherubim, spirits, and seraphim.[8] These subordinate beings acted as Jehovah's attendants or as His messengers. Sometimes Jehovah came into direct intercourse with men, but He also accomplished His purposes through His double or Angel.[9] Possession of a spirit could be acquired by the playing of musical instruments,[10] by dancing, by visiting lonely or holy places,[11] by lying or kneeling on the ground,[12] by offering sacrifice,[13] and by eating an object in which a spirit was thought to reside.[14] A knowledge of the Deity's will was sought by prayer,[15] by dreams, by Urim, and by the aid of prophecy.[16] The nature of spirit was conceived of either as a personalized being or as a fine substance. The idea of a personalized being prevails where the activity of the spirit is thought of as transient or occasional; the *fluidum* idea occurs where the operation of the spirit is more permanent and abiding, or where it is brought into relation with the cosmos.[17] The belief in the possibility of this spirit-substance penetrating the body indicates that the Hebrews also had no difficulty about the penetrability of matter. The power rather than the ethical character of spirit-activity is emphasized; in fact, even to Jehovah is

[7] II Ki. 19:7; Is. 6.

[8] See Barton, Encyc. of Rel. and Eth., art., "Spirits and Demons (Hebrew)."

[9] It should be noted that the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, particularly Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos and Hosea, are practically silent so far as the Spirit of God is concerned. The reason for this is not well known but may perhaps be found in the strong monotheistic tendencies of the times, which would react against the hypostatization of a second divine Being, or in the aversion with which these prophets with their loftier ideals viewed the ordinary prophets who ascribed their inspiration to the operation of the Spirit.

[10] I Sam. 10:5; 16:14 ff.; II Ki. 3:15.

[11] Num. 22:9, 20; II Sam. 7:4; Ex. 34:28; I Ki. 19:8 ff.; II Ki. 1:9.

[12] Num. 24:4.

[13] Num. 23.

[14] Jer. 15:16; Ez. 2:9 ff.

[15] I Sam. 8:6 f.; Is. 21:6; Hab. 2:1.

[16] I Sam. 28:6.

[17] Spirit as a personalized being: I Ki. 22:24; I Sam. 16:15; Jud. 9:23; 13:6; as substance: Num. 11:17, 25; II Ki. 2:9, 15; Gen. 1:2.

ascribed the sending of evil spirits.[18] If a man had spiritual power or was possessed by a spirit, he could heal diseases, perform wonders, raise the dead, foretell future events, and enter into ecstatic conditions. And although a passage like Deut. 18:9 ff. would indicate that magic and sorcery were put under the official ban, such a regulation in itself presupposes the practice of the magic arts among the people.[19]

It is not difficult to see in the face of these facts how closely the Hebrews were related to primitive ideas on the subject of belief in spirits and demons. If instead of emphasizing the points wherein the Jewish ideas differ from those of other religious systems we should give due consideration to the common elements between them, we would be able to see that in the main the Jewish line of development was parallel to that of other races. The question then arises whether this parallel development continued in post-exilic and Graeco-Roman times.

We have already referred in the previous chapter to the growth of the monotheistic idea among the Jews, a growth that seems to have been a part of the general religious progress of the age.[20] If the Jews were at all unique in the development of this conception, it was merely a matter of priority in point of time; they no doubt antedated the Greeks and peoples of the West in their monotheistic views, but this came about chiefly as a result of the influence of the early monarchical ideas of the Oriental States and perhaps of the Persian religion upon Judaism in exilic times. There was also noticeable among the Jews a marked tendency toward transcendentalism. The prophets preached the holiness and majesty of Jehovah,—particularly was this the case with Isaiah,—and this was at least one of the factors that led to such a separation of God from the world as to cause many to feel that intercourse between God and man could only be established through some mediating agent or being, such as the Spirit, the Wisdom of God, or the Messiah.[21]

[18] Even as late as the time of Job this matter had not been settled (Job 9:24). In Is. 19:14; 29:10; and in I Ki. 22:20 ff. references to Jehovah's sending evil spirits are made; but in Hos. 4:12; 5:4; and Zach. 13:2 Jehovah is put over against evil spirits while in Num. 5: 14, 20 an evil spirit is represented as acting on its own initiative. Even in I Sam. 18:10 ff., if we compare vss. 10 and 12, we notice that there is an antagonism between Jehovah and the "evil spirit from God."

[19] See further on this subject Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen, where the magical practices of the Jews are dealt with in greater detail.

[20] Cf. for example, Is. 45:6; 43:11, 12; 44:6.

[21] Jehovah is the Most High and the Holy One of Israel (Is. 6:3; 43:15). His glory is inconceivable (IV Ez. 8:21). In Apocalyptic literature His actions are generally represented as mediated through the agency of angels or the Spirit. Angels

The Jews as a whole did not fully appreciate the services of the Roman State; in fact for the most part they resented the Roman domination of Palestine. But that element in their religious life which the State-cult failed to furnish them was supplied by their Messianic hopes and ideals. The individualistic tendencies of the period were also noticeably at work among the Jewish people of the post-exilic period. Many came to feel that before their national and Messianic hopes could be realized the proper personal relation between God and the Jews had to be established. There was a longing for personal salvation. Legalism became so prominent at the time very largely as a result of this desire for right relationship with the Deity. The preaching of John the Baptist and the success that attended it is a further indication that such was the situation. The ethical movement of the times made itself manifest also among the Jews. The possession of the Spirit meant no longer mere raving or the performance of some miraculous deed, but the preaching of righteousness and the will of God. The Wisdom literature sprang up, and more and more the emphasis came to be placed upon righteous living. As a result good and evil spirits were more definitely differentiated[22] and the idea of future retribution assumed a constantly growing prominence in the minds of the people. The dualistic world-view dominated their thinking, and the Apocalyptic visions of the forces of God or the Messiah on the one hand and the forces of Satan and his angels on the other, struggling to gain the mastery of the world, show how this dualism affected Jewish notions of the spirit-world. The syncretism of the age and the influences of other cults upon Judaism had the effect of increasing the number of angels and demons to such an extent that the Jews on this point differed very little from their contemporaries.[23] The

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have charge of the destinies of nations (Dan. 10:13). They are used to reveal what is hidden and to instruct the Apocalyptic seers (Eth. En. 40:8; Test. Levi. 2:6; II Bar. 54:5). See also the conception of Sirach regarding Wisdom, especially ch. 24.

[22] The angels were in general good, the demons evil. The angels are either conceived of as anthropomorphic (Eth. En. 67:8) or as composed of fiery substance (II Bar. 21:6). They perform all kinds of helpful services (Test. XII passim.). A number of them receive names (Eth. En. 40:1-10; 20:1-8; and see Is. 63:9; Dan. 8:16 10:13). They become also the instruments of chastisement (II Bar. 7:1; 8:1), and one stands out as the Angel of Death (II Bar. 21:23). The demons are under the leadership of Satan (Eth. En. 69:4 ff.). They are fallen angels (Eth. En. 6; 15:8-9) and are responsible for the evil propensities and sins of men (Test. Reub. 2:1-3; 3:1-6; Levi. 3:2), for all the troubles and afflictions of the world (Eth. En. 15:11), and for tormenting the soul after it leaves the body (Test. Ash. 6:3).

[23] Eth. En. 40:1 tells of a vision of "thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand . . . a multitude beyond number and reckoning who stood

reticence regarding the belief in spirits of nature which is noticeable in the Old Testament literature begins to disappear and some at least of the phenomena and forces of nature are attributed to spirit influence.[24] They came to believe also in angels that acted as guardians not only over individuals but over the nations as well.[25]

It seems to be clear then that the Jewish belief in spirits and demons was quite similar to that of the surrounding nations.

It is necessary here to deal also with the expression, Spirit of God, which occurs so frequently in Jewish literature, for the Jews believed not only in spirits in general, but in a special Spirit that was somehow closely related to Jehovah. Various explanations have been given as to the origin of this Ruḥ and its relation to Jehovah,[26] but the simplest theory is either to regard this Spirit as the double or phantom of Jehovah or as an emanation of fine substance from His being. Such a theory at least has the advantage of being in accord with what we know of the primitive ideas of the soul and spiritual beings. When the Spirit of Jehovah assumed human form, as he often did when a special revelation was to be made, he was called the Angel of God or Jehovah.[27] The instances where Jehovah takes of the Spirit that was upon Moses and puts it on the seventy elders,[28] and where Elisha receives a double portion from the Spirit of Elijah[29] are clear cases of the substantial conception of the Spirit.

In early Hebrew history there does not seem to have been any unification of spirit-activities and phenomena; various operations which later were ascribed to the agency of the Spirit were still attributed to the activity of inferior spirits. Particularly was this the case with

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before the Lord of Spirits." In this book God is called Lord of Spirits more than 100 times. In Ps. 106:37; Eth. En. 19:1; 99:7; II Bar. 4:7 we find instances where the deities of heathen nations are considered as demons or evil spirits.

[24] See Eth. En. 60:17-21.

[25] Ps. 34:7; 91:11; Dan. 10:20.

[26] Rees thinks that at first it was "an elementary form of independent personality, like a ghost of primitive animism, acting as the agent of Yahweh" (The Holy Spirit, p. 18). Volz is of the opinion that it was a religious survival from the time when the Hebrews were still polytheists and was at one time an independent divine being but later became subordinated to Jehovah when the latter became the tribal Deity (Der Geist Gottes, pp. 5 f., 22 f., 52 f., 62 f). Neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory.

[27] Gen. 16:7; 21:17; 22:11; 31:11.

[28] Num. 11:25.

[29] II Ki. 2:9, 15.

such phenomena as outbursts of anger or other immoral tendencies, which were ascribed to the agency of evil spirits.[30] But with the rise of ethical and monotheistic ideas the operations regarded as Spirit-phenomena due to Jehovah's activity were gradually unified, those bearing the approval of the moral conscience of the time being attributed either to Jehovah Himself, as was the case in the eighth and seventh centuries, or to the Spirit of Jehovah, while those that offended the moral sense were considered as due to the influence of evil spirits or demons. In this way the Spirit became almost the exclusive agent of Jehovah's activity.[31]

The range of the activity of the Spirit grew with the moral and mental development of the people. The activity of the Spirit which at first manifested itself chiefly in strange and abnormal acts and phenomena, such as Samson's deeds of prowess, was later under the varying social and political circumstances of the people extended to cover the artist's skill, the inspiration of the poet and reformer, and the future hope of the nations. Then under the influence of the ethical movement it was made to include even the moral and intellectual life of man.[32] It becomes the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, righteousness, and purification. The idea of the Spirit develops from the emotional to the intellectual, from the sudden, explosive, and external to the habitual, normal and rational. Indeed we might here state the rule by which the spirit-phenomena of every age have been judged as such, viz., whatever is conceived of as supernatural is due to spirit-agency. And therefore

[30] I Sam. 18:10; I Ki. 22:19-22; Is. 29:10; Hos. 4:12; 5:4.

[31] It should be noted here that according to the Hebrew idea the activity of the Spirit of God was confined chiefly to the human soul and to the Jewish people. And this may be one reason why prophecy was so highly prized by the Jews. The Spirit's relation to nature is not dwelt upon to any extent, outside of its connection with creation (Gen. 1:2). It was chiefly among the extra-Palestinian Jews as Philo and Slav. En. in particular attest, that the subject of the Spirit in its relation to the universe attracted much attention.

[32] We see this already in the Messianic conceptions of the greater prophets (Is. 11:2; 28:6). Ezekiel connects man's inner life with the Spirit (36:26-27 *et al*). And the moral and intellectual activity of the Spirit in the heart of man is especially noticeable in the Test. XII. Joseph was a good man because he had the Spirit in him (Test. Sim. 44); the Spirit of understanding came upon Levi. (Test. Levi. 2:3); the Spirit of truth testifies to all things (Test. Jud. 20:1, 5); if a man had the Spirit he was clean in heart (Test. Benj. 8:2); the soul indeed was the Holy Spirit of God breathed into man (Test. Naph. App. I, 10:9). The conception here is very close to an identification of the Spirit of God with the spirit of man and of the activity of the Spirit with the moral and intellectual life (Test. Jud. 20).

what men regard as spirit-operations is conditioned by their world-view, that is, by what they regard as belonging to the supernatural.

But whatever the Jews may or may not have regarded as due to the activity of the Spirit, there can be no question but that they considered prophecy as the chief gift of the Spirit. Of course, the priest, the king, the hero, the sage, and even the scribe were also regarded as inspired persons, but they do not figure so prominently in Jewish history as agents of the Spirit as did the prophets. The latter were the most influential leaders at least up to the close of the Old Testament Canon, and the use which the New Testament writers made of the Old Testament prophetical writings as well as the prominent place which the prophet held in the early church shows the influence which the Old Testament prophets exerted even in Christian circles.

A distinct development is also noticeable in the Jewish conception of prophecy. At first it was very little more than emotionalism and frenzy. But with the advance of ethical and spiritual conceptions the gift was filled with a richer and loftier content; it became the means of bringing to the people the revelation of God's will and of stimulating not only a spirit of nationalism but a desire for a pure and righteous life. The prophets became preachers, reformers, and statesmen. With the closing of the Old Testament Canon and with the waning of national hopes prophecy took another turn in its development. The former made it difficult for a prophet to get a hearing for any book that he might write, and that explains why the prophetical literature from the time of the composition of Daniel is all pseudonymous. The latter caused a pessimistic view of the world to arise and the prophets sought refuge in Messianism, Apocalypticism, and individualism.

Under such circumstances it is no surprise that prophecy lost some of its prestige and regard in the eyes of the people, and especially in the estimation of those who placed their hope in the Law. But it is a mistake to think as many have done and do even today that between the Old and New Testaments prophecy ceased.[33] The composition of such works as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Ezra is literary proof that prophecy at this time was not dead at least.[34] It need of course not be denied that

[33] Gunkel, D. Wirkungen d. heil. Geistes, p. 50; Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T., II, pp. VIII, IX and 163; also his work, Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments, esp. p. 15. Josephus (Apion, I, 8) says that there was no exact succession of prophets since the time of Artaxerxes.

[34] Rees, The Holy Spirit, pp. 31 f.

prophecy was at a lower ebb and that the thoughts of the people were to an extent directed rather to the past operations of the Spirit in the prophets or to the future outpouring of the Spirit that would accompany the establishment of the Messianic kingdom; and yet there was no time when there were not prophets among the people with their inspired message if the people had only been willing to recognize them.

In this way did the Spirit become a form of expressing the activity of Jehovah. But there is another line of development in the later period of Jewish history which has often been pointed out, and that is the tendency to hypostatize the Spirit or a similar being, which was regarded as a mediator between the world and a transcendent God. Among the sages this being was called Wisdom and was practically identified with the Spirit. Among the Hellenistic Jews the Logos was the term sometimes employed to represent the idea. But it is rather doubtful whether the Palestinian Jews ever went so far as to think of the Spirit, Wisdom, or Word as more than a personification. It is true that Sirach regarded Wisdom as a premundane being,[35] but his language in general hardly goes farther than to personify this divine attribute. It is in the extra-Palestinian Wisdom of Solomon and Philo that the conception of Wisdom as a being possessing independent existence and power of self-initiative finds support,[36] but even here the evidence is not conclusive, for Wisdom is so closely connected with God that it can very readily be explained as His personal representative or double, or as an emanation from Him,[37] the thought being quite similar to that of the Spirit or of the Messiah. The Jews of this time were perhaps too rigidly monotheistic to permit of a real duality in the heavenly pantheon, though they may have come to conceive of the Spirit as a being while of independent existence, yet of subordinate rank to Jehovah.

It is in place here to speak of the Jewish idea that prevailed in New Testament times regarding the Spirit's relation to salvation. As is very evident, the Jews were not mystics. Their conception of a holy God prevented the thought of direct contact of Deity with man. God could not Himself come down from heaven and become incarnate in man. Hence the idea of incarnation is practically absent in their literature, especially in that of the New Testament period.[38] Likewise their

[35] Ecclus. 1:4; 24:9.

[36] Wis. 9:1, 2, 10; cf. 18:15.

[37] Wis. 7:25, 26.

[38] The use of the adjective, holy, when reference was made to the Spirit was simply a reflection of the growing consciousness of the holiness of God. When God

conception of the majesty of God, a conception so lofty as to make merely the use of the name of God a dangerous thing, and their conception of the sinful nature of man prevented them from believing in the deification of man. For a man to say that he was a god was to commit blasphemy. This accounts for the fact that the idea of regeneration, of being born a son of God, is not a part of the Jewish thought-world. No, to the Jew salvation was the sustaining of proper covenant relations with God, and it was only in this sense that they thought of themselves as being the children or sons of God. If the nation as a whole kept its covenant with Jehovah, he would send His representative to save it. If the individual carried out the provisions of the Law, he would be saved. But of course it came to be felt from the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel onward that the old external requirements of the covenant were inadequate, and the establishing of a new covenant in the hearts of men was necessary.[39] The one who would come to teach men the conditions of this new covenant was a prophet like unto Moses or Elijah and he would be equipped with the power of the Spirit of God; for this was to be a covenant not of external rites but of the Spirit. This prophet was to be the Savior because he would teach men what to do to be saved. Men would repent and live in obedience to the will of God which would be made known by this Spirit-endowed prophet.[40] They thus would receive forgiveness of sins and be reinstated into proper covenant relations with the Deity. With the restoration of the nation to proper relationship with Jehovah would come an outpouring of the Spirit on all men.[41] In a word forgiveness expresses the Jewish idea of salvation, and this forgiveness was granted to the individual not only because of his own obedience to the Law and to the will of God, but also, and perhaps chiefly, because of his connection with the Jewish nation. The thought of a mystical union with the Deity is absent from the Jewish conception of salvation.

We see then that although the Jews went through the various stages of progress in respect to their belief in spirits that characterized the other races and nations, they nevertheless as a result of certain peculiarities in their social and political history developed certain unique

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came to be thought of as holy, it was natural that the Spirit who was His representative and was constituted of the same substance or Stoff should be called holy also.

[39] Jer. 31:31-35; Ez. 36:26, 27; 11:19, 20 *et al.*

[40] Mal. 4:5, 6.

[41] Joel. 2:28 ff.

features that to an extent marked them off from the other peoples. These features, to name only the most important ones, were a loftier and more transcendental conception of God, an emphasis upon conduct rather than upon belief as a condition to the attaining of salvation, the idea of forgiveness rather than regeneration as constituting the process of salvation, the belief that a proper covenant relationship rather than a mystical union with God effected salvation, their stress upon the nationalistic idea of salvation and their use of the term Messiah to denote the coming deliverer, the large rôle which the prophet occupied in their scheme of salvation, and the belief in the resurrection of the body which they based upon their corporeal conception of spirits.

It was in this kind of an atmosphere that John the Baptist and Jesus were born and reared. Just what their beliefs regarding spirits and the Spirit of God was, is rather difficult to say in view of the fact that our sole sources of information, viz., the Gospel records, reflect the views rather of their authors than those of the characters dealt with therein. We can arrive only by way of inference at what they doubtless believed regarding spiritual beings. John was regarded as a prophet by Jews and Christians alike,[42] and doubtless felt the prophetic call himself. If so, then he must have conceived of himself as having been inspired by the Spirit of God. But he evidently did not preach anything regarding the coming of the Spirit upon men. He preached the Jewish idea of repentance and forgiveness of sins. He may even have prophesied the coming of a Messiah from heaven; at least, if the statement that he preached about the imminency of the Kingdom of God is at all historical,[43] he doubtless presented the subject in accordance with current Apocalyptic views. Whether John performed the rite of baptism because he thought of water as having any spiritual potency within it is difficult to say. It is true that water, and especially running water, was quite generally conceived of as being inhabited by spirits,[44] and John too may have had the same belief. It is to be noticed at least that John evidently preferred running water in which to baptize.

What Jesus believed regarding spirits and the Spirit is equally difficult to tell. But he too must have regarded himself as a prophet

[42] Matthew 14:5; 21:32; Luke 7:26. The Christians in order by way of contrast to enhance the greatness of Jesus reckoned John, the official forerunner of Jesus, as even more than a prophet.

[43] Matthew 3:2; Mark 1:15.

[44] Eth. En. 69:22 mentions the spirit of water and perhaps indicates that the Palestinian Jews of John's day had this conception of water. See also Didache, 7:2.

endowed with the Spirit of God; his message was the prophet's message of liberty, healing, and hope to the poor.[45] His sparing use of the term, Holy Spirit, at least according to the records of the Synoptists, would indicate that in his message he did not lay the stress upon an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon men; his message must have concerned itself chiefly with the living of a righteous life and with the notion of a direct fellowship with God.[46] The mention of the Holy Spirit in the Beelzebub account shows simply that Jesus felt himself to be endowed with the Spirit of God for the exorcising of demons and was unwilling that others should ascribe his power to any wicked agency.[47] The ascription of divine inspiration to David in the writing of the Psalms[48] accords with the current Jewish conceptions of the inspiration of their Scriptures, and may well be a saying of Jesus. The other references to the Holy Spirit in the Synoptists[49] reflect no doubt the ideas of post-Pentecostal days and can hardly be attributed to Jesus.

It is possible to attribute to Jesus a belief in the spiritual cause of sickness. When he is said to have rebuked the fever of Peter's mother-in-law,[50] it seems clear that he thought of the fever as a demon or spirit dwelling within her. The rebuking of the wind and the sea in the story of the storm on the lake is a similar case, with this difference however that here he supposedly manifests a belief in wind and sea demons.[51] There can be little doubt but that he healed those who were epileptic, insane, or troubled with other mental disorders.[52] And it is to be presumed that he was in accord with the psychology of the day in ascribing

[45] Luke 4:18 ff.; 7:22. Cf. also 4:24.

[46] The Sermon on the Mount might be cited in illustration of this point. Notice that the Holy Spirit is not mentioned in it.

[47] Mark 3:29; Matthew 12:28, 32; Luke 12:10; 11:20.

[48] Mark 12:36; Matthew 22:43.

[49] Luke 11:13; Mark 13:11; Matthew 10:19; Luke 12:11; Matthew 28:19; Luke 24; 48. The references to the Holy Spirit ascribed to Jesus in the fourth Gospel can hardly be regarded as historical and hence do not come under consideration at this point.

[50] Luke 4:39; cf. Mark 1:29-31 and Matthew 8:14, 15. This however may be a reflection of Greek ideas, for it is found only in Luke. And yet when we read a passage like Eth. En. 69:12, we have to admit that the notion that abnormal conditions of the body were due to demonic influence was held by the Jews also. See also Luke 13:11, 12 where Jesus uses the word, "loosed," just as if the woman had been bound by the spirit. Cf. vs. 16.

[51] Mark 4:39; Matthew 8:26; Luke 8:24. Jewish belief in spirits dwelling in water, wind, sea and other objects of nature may be found expressed in Eth. En. 60: 11 ff.; 6:20; 75:5; 15:10; but see esp. 60:16 and 69:22.

[52] Mark 1:23-26, 27; 3:11; 5:2, 18; 6:7; 7:25 and parallels in Matthew and Luke.

such phenomena to the presence and activity of demons. We have no right to read into Jesus' mind conceptions and explanations which we hold today regarding these mental aberrations and claim that Jesus was merely accommodating himself to the beliefs of the people of his time. It is more than probable that he in many of these popular notions was one with his contemporaries.[53] And he must have been quite sincere when he addressed the demons which he thought had taken possession of those afflicted with severe mental disorders. The temptation of Jesus by Satan must have been a real experience to him, for according to current notions Satan was regarded as the tempter of men.[54] The conception of Satan as being the Prince of demons, and of Mammon as being the demon of greed may also have been held by Jesus.[55] It is likewise to be supposed that he believed in the existence of angels and in their functions as guardians of men, as instruments of chastisement, and as the ministers and messengers of God and the Messiah.[56]

On these various points it is doubtless true that John and Jesus were in accord with the Palestinian Jewish thought of their day. Their notions of spirits and of the Spirit were no doubt very much like those of their contemporaries.

There are some indications in Acts that Jewish ideas were prominent among the first Christian group of believers, though it is difficult to say whether these ideas were Palestinian or extra-Palestinian, for their features are not sufficiently distinct to permit of a clear differentiation. The use of the word, angel, and the prominent rôle the angels play in the Acts' narratives are quite certainly Jewish features.[57] The conception of the Spirit also shows some Jewish characteristics: the occasional outpouring of the Spirit in order to equip the disciples for the preaching of a prophetic message,[58] the sudden bearing away of Philip by the Spirit,[59] which by the way shows a close resemblance to the way in which the Spirit bare Jesus away to be tempted as well as to the violent experiences of the Apocalyptists, the belief in the inspiration of

[53] See Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, p. 140 ff. for the belief of the Jews in demons and their practice of exorcism. The words in Matthew 12:43-45 may quite well have been uttered by Jesus.

[54] This function of Satan is referred to as early as the time of Job. A later expression of it is found in Eth. En. 69:4 ff.

[55] Mark 3:22; Matthew 9:34; Luke 11:15; Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13.

[56] Matthew 13:39, 49; 16:27; 18:10; Luke 16:22. Also II Bar. 7:1; 8:1.

[57] Acts 5:19; 7:53; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7, 15 *et al.*

[58] Acts 4:31; 6:10 *et al.*

[59] Acts 8:38; cf Mark 1:12; Ez. 3:12; 8:3 *et al.*

the Old Testament writers[60] all point to a Jewish origin. Paul's preaching against the worship of images betrays his Jewish aversion to idolatry.[61] The representation, in the early chapters of Acts at least, that Jesus was the Servant of God is surely a reference to the Servant of the Old Testament prophets;[62] and the statements that Jesus was a man approved of God by mighty works and wonders, a prophet like unto Moses, anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power, who went about doing good and healing the sick and demonized, doubtless are to be reckoned as representative of the early Jewish Christian estimate of the personality of Jesus.[63] These references are sufficient to show that the early Christians so far as their belief in spirits was concerned were genetically related to the Jews, and particularly to the Palestinian Jews.

When we turn to the extra-Palestinian or Hellenistic Jews who came more under the influence of Greek and Gentile thought, we notice a change in their ideas of the spirit world. These ideas we gather from the writings of non-Palestinian Jews, such as the Sibylline Oracles (in part), II, III, and IV Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Slavonic Enoch, III Baruch, and the works of Philo and Josephus. Those of particular worth for the study of our subject are the Wisdom of Solomon, Slavonic Enoch, III Baruch, and Philo. Of course, it is difficult always to tell very definitely just what non-Palestinian traits and conceptions are to be found in these writings, and yet a few points of differentiation between Palestinian and extra-Palestinian ideas can with fair assurance be made.

So far as the beliefs in angels and demons were concerned, the non-Palestinians doubtless had a greater number of such beings in their thought-world, and they were more prone to syncretize the Greek idea of demon with the Jewish idea of angel.[64] The functions of angels were enlarged in that they were made to be intercessors for men to God, whereas in the earlier and more Palestinian thought, they were chiefly messengers of God to men.[65] There seems to have been a disposition

[60] Acts 4:25; 28:25.

[61] Acts 17:29; 19:26.

[62] Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30; Is. 42:1; 52:13; 53:11.

[63] Acts 2:22; 3:22; 10:38.

[64] Philo, De Gigan. 4. In III Bar., chs. 12 and 13 where three classes of angels are described as having charge of three classes of men, the conception is no doubt peculiar to non-Palestinian Jews.

[65] See Dan. 6:2; Test. Levi. 3:5 ff.; 5:6,7; Apoc. Moses 35:2; Adam and Eve 9:3; Tob. 12:5; III Bar. 12:1. Cf. Heb. 1:14 and Rev. 8:3. In Tob. 3:16; 12:12 and III Bar. 11:4 angels are regarded as the bearers of men's prayers to God.

also to divide the upper regions into a tier of heavens.[66] Their conception of the inspiration of their Scriptures was not quite so fast and rigid; at least, as the history of the Old Testament Apocrypha attests, they continued to admit books into the Old Testament Canon long after the Palestinian Jews had regarded the Canon as practically closed. Their Messianism was not so nationalistic as that of the Jews of Palestine, but concerned itself more with the salvation of the individual. The sphere of the activity of the Spirit which according to the old Hebrew idea was confined chiefly to the souls of men, was enlarged to include all the activities of nature.[67] The Spirit assumes more of the aspect of a cosmic principle, the principle of order in nature.[68] Again there is a tendency to identify the Spirit with the reason in man and as such to regard it as the universal endowment of mankind.[69] Likewise a disposition to hypostatize the Spirit manifests itself, and under the influence of Greek and mystical thought it is identified with the Logos or Wisdom and conceived of as the medium through which a transcendent God reveals Himself to man's soul.

In order to make these points clearer we might deal in greater detail with the conception of Philo and the author of Wisdom. Philo[70] was one with the Jews of Palestine in believing that the Spirit was the cause of ecstacy, prophecy, and inspiration,[71] and he himself claims to have

[66] See Slav. En. where seven heavens are described and III Bar. where there are only five. This was doubtless an idea that arose from contact with Babylonian, Parsee, and Greek thought (Charles, Book of the Secrets of Enoch, pp. xxx-xlvii). But the conception of a multifold heaven is also found in Palestinian thought. See Test. Levi. 2:7-3:8 and Asc. of Is. 7-11.

[67] With the exception of certain passages in Eth. En., IV Ez., and the story of creation in Gen., it is difficult to find much in Palestinian Jewish literature on the relation of the Spirit or spirits to nature. But in Slav. En. 11:4, 5; and III Bar. 8:4 the order of nature is given over to the charge of angels.

[68] Notice the large element of cosmological speculation in Slav. En. And see Philo., De Gigan. 6; Plant. Noe. 6; Ebriet. 27; Opif. Mund. 45.

[69] Philo, Gigan. 5; Quis Rer. Div. 52; Quod det potiori, 22, *et al.*

[70] For further study of Philo reference might be made to Drummond, Philo Judaeus, 1888, and Brechier, Les idées philos. et relig. de Philon d'Alex., 1908. On his views of the Logos see Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 187 f., and Rees, *op. cit.*, ch. 3.

[71] Several significant passages on this point deserve quotation: "So long therefore as our mind still shines and hovers around, pouring as it were a noontide light into the whole soul, we being masters of ourselves are not possessed by any extraneous influence; but when it approaches its setting, then, as is natural, a trance which proceeds from inspiration, takes violent hold of us, and madness seizes upon us, for when the divine light shines, the human light sets, and when the divine light sets, this other rises and shines; and this very frequently happens to the race of prophets; for

had pneumatic experiences; but he did not confine the activity of the divine Spirit to this kind of phenomena; it had for him a broader and more cosmic function.[72] He was also like them a believer in angels and in their ability to assume human form;[73] but he believed also in such Greek beings as the seminal Logoi of the Stoics, the powers of the ethereal regions, and the archetypal ideas of Platonism.[74] He departed most however from them in his doctrine of the Logos and it is with this that we are here particularly concerned.

He calls the Logos the image of God,[75] the elder son or first-born,[76] the eternal Word,[77] the seal and interpreter of God,[78] the highpriest of the universe,[79] the vicegerent of God,[80] the fountain or source of wisdom;[81] in fact in several places he even uses the title, θεός, or the adjective, θεῖος, when speaking of the Logos, implying thereby that the Logos was of the same quality or essence as God, not that he was necessarily a person on an equality with Him.[82] The process of hypostatization seems practically complete here. Furthermore the Logos was the agent of God in creation, and constituted the pattern or archetype of all created things.[83] He performed the function of delivering to men the revelation of God.[84] The two main ideas of Philo then with regard to

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the mind that is in us is removed from its place at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but is again restored to its previous habitation when that Spirit departs, for it is contrary to holy law for what is mortal to dwell with what is immortal" (Quis Rer. Div. 52, 53). "Sometimes having come empty (i. e. to his work of composition) I suddenly became full, ideas being invisibly showered upon me and planted from above, so that by a divine possession I was filled with enthusiasm, and was absolutely ignorant of the place, of those present, of myself, of what was said, of what was written; for I had a stream of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most keen-sighted vision, a most distinct view of the subjects treated, such as would be given through the eyes from the clearest exhibition (of some object)" (Migrat. Abr. 7).

[72] See passages cited under note 68.

[73] De Abram. 22; De Gigan. 2.

[74] Opif. Mund. 5, 6, 24; De Somn. I, 21.

[75] Opif. Mund. 41; Monarch. 5; Confus. Ling. 20; Profug. 19; Somn. I, 41.

[76] Quod Deus Immut. 6; Confus. Ling. 14, 28; Agric. Noe 12; Somn. I, 37.

[77] Plant. Noe 5.

[78] Plant. Noe 5; Leg. Alleg. 73.

[79] Somn. I, 37; Profug. 20.

[80] Agric. Noe 12; Somn. I, 39.

[81] Profug. 18.

[82] Leg. Alleg. 73; Somn. I, 39.

[83] Leg. Alleg. 31; Migr. Abr. 1; Cherub. 35; Opif. Mund. 5, 6; *et al.*

[84] Quis Rer. Div. 42, *et al.*

the Logos were that he was the expression of God's activity in creation and the rational principle in the universe and in man on the one hand, and the Mediator between God and man and the agent of salvation on the other.

Philo's conception is clearly syncretistic. He unites the Stoic doctrine of the Logos as the active or rational principle in the world with the Platonic idea of the supersensual images and patterns of visible things. He is doubtless influenced on the other hand by the Jewish conception of Wisdom and of the Spirit as well as by the Oriental and Gnostic notion of the Deity sending down to the earth His son or vicegerent in order to deliver and save men from contact with the world.

When we turn to the Wisdom of Solomon, we find that what we have learned concerning Philo's doctrine of the Logos, could almost equally well be said of Wisdom. Wisdom is the medium through which God creates the world and reveals Himself. She emanates from God, is immanent in the world, decides upon the destinies of the nations, and becomes the moral and religious guide for men.[85] In fact, in one passage the Logos and Wisdom are practically identified.[86] Perhaps the rational element is not so prominent in Wisdom as in Philo's Logos, the Greek influence not so strong, and the process of hypostatization not quite so complete, and yet the remarkable similarity between the two conceptions is very striking to say the least.

Nor are the conceptions of the Logos and of Wisdom in the minds of these writers to be thought of as being essentially different from that of the Spirit. So far as their essential constitution and their functions are concerned, they are practically identical. And in their relation to God and to the universe very little distinction can be drawn between them.[87] The use of these three terms to denote practically the same thing and to express practically the same thought is due perhaps to the

[85] Wis. 9:9; 8:7, 8; 7:22, 24, *et al.* The passage in 7:25-27 is worth quoting here: "For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure effulgence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled enter into her. For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of His goodness. And in that she is one she hath power to do all things; and remaining in herself, reneweth all things; and in all ages entering into Holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets."

[86] Wis. 9:1, 2.

[87] For references on the identification of the Spirit and Wisdom see Wis. 1:4-7; 7:7, 22, 23; 9:17; 12:1, 2; and Philo, Gigan. 5, 11; Quaes. in Gen. I, 90. For passages showing the similarity between the Spirit and the Logos see Philo, Quod Det. Pot. 22, 23; Opif. Mund. 46; Leg. Alleg. I, 13; Plant. Noe 5; and Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

fact that the syncretistic elements in these writings were not consistently coördinated as well as to the fact that an irenic purpose could thus be served: the writers by using these terms and thought-forms could make themselves better understood by the persons whom they addressed.

These concepts of the Logos, Wisdom and the Spirit served a practical religious need for the people of that age. For the Hellenistic Jews, and particularly for those of their number who were inclined toward philosophical speculation they would serve the same purpose as the idea of the Messiah served for those interested in Apocalypticism, at least so far as the longing for individual redemption was concerned. And among the Gentiles in general there was a widespread feeling that there was need of a mediator between man and the Deity, a revealer of divine gnosis, who should come down from heaven to release the imprisoned soul and give it sufficient knowledge to enable it to return safely to heaven, its original home. The legends in nearly all the Oriental religions of gods or sons of gods who come down from heaven to earth to contend with hostile beings or with the evil forces of nature in order to aid man in his imprisoned condition confirm the truth of this statement.

Josephus, though a Hellenistic Jew, adds very little to our knowledge of the conceptions which the Jews of the Dispersion held regarding spirits. In the main he held to ideas that were also current in Palestine. He believed in angels and identified the Angel of Jehovah with Jehovah Himself.[88] He recommends exorcism of demons as a sanative measure and describes how Solomon invented the science.[89] He regarded prophecy as the gift of the Spirit and claims that this was one of the gifts of the high-priest.[90] He interpreted his own statement made to Vespasian when he surrendered to the Romans, viz., that Vespasian would become Emperor of Rome, as a prophecy uttered in a state of ecstasy.[91] It was at least the means of saving his life and might well be regarded as an inspiration. He regarded the Old Testament books as divinely inspired and the Law as having been delivered by angels.[92] But there are several indications on the other hand that he was somewhat influenced by Roman ideas and customs as well. When he has Aristobulus say that his soul ought to die to appease the ghosts of his brother and mother

[88] Ant. IV, 6, 2; V, 8, 3.

[89] Ant. VIII, 2, 5; XIII, 16, 2; Wars VII, 6, 3; 9, 1.

[90] Ant. IV, 6, 5; 8, 49; V, 8, 4; VI, 4, 1; 8, 2; VII, 4, 1, X, 11, 3; XIII, 10, 7; Wars I, 2, 8; Apion I, 8.

[91] Wars III, 8, 3; 8, 9.

[92] Ant. XIII, 15, 3; Apion I, 8.

whom he had murdered,[93] he doubtless shows an influence of the Roman custom of manes-worship upon his mind. There is also a Roman touch in the statement which he has Herod make regarding the good *Genius* that was ever present at the elbow of his son Alexander.[94] In the speech of Titus to his soldiers in which he says: "For who is there who does not know, that those souls of virtuous men which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battles by the sword, are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars; that they become good demons and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards?"[95] we are unable to tell whether Josephus is putting a speech into the mouth of Titus or whether the words were actually uttered as stated. In any case it reveals Josephus' acquaintance with Greek and Roman conceptions.

These then are the main features that differentiate the Hellenistic from the Palestinian Jews with respect to their belief in spirits: the introduction of cosmological speculation into the Apocalyptic program and the assigning of a cosmic function to the Spirit, a broader view of the inspiration of the Scriptures, a more transcendent conception of God and a more complete hypostatization of a mediating agent, a greater emphasis upon the individualistic aspect of salvation, and the introduction of a mystical element in the thought of man's relation to God. There is an evident fusion and syncretizing of Jewish, Oriental, and Greek thought.

We will see how these ideas affected the thought-world of the expanding Christian movement as it entered the Hellenistic and Gentile worlds.

[93] Ant. XIII, 11, 3; Wars I, 3, 6.
[94] Ant. XVI, 7, 4.
[95] Wars VI, 1, 5.

CHAPTER III

The Believer as Pneumatikos: The Gifts of the Spirit

The original disciples of Jesus were disheartened at his death, but they nevertheless could not erase from their memories the deep impress which his life and teachings had made upon their minds. They still in imagination could see him as he preached and healed; and especially at times when they met together, a small group of them, in some home or by the seaside did they seem to feel his presence near them. At such times they would doubtless recount some of the things they had seen him do or heard him say. And this would bring into their minds in still clearer and more vivid outlines the picture of him whom they had come to trust and love.

Holding to the psychological notions that were current in their day, they of course did not distinguish between the external and internal reality of mental experiences, and interpreted these vivid impressions of their departed teacher to be externally real. They furthermore could not think of him as being really dead, for they believed as the people of their time did, that the soul continued its existence in spiritual form after death. Nor could they think of him as living in the underworld, for these visions which they had had of him were proof of the fact that Hades could not hold him and that he had actually risen from the dead and was still in close fellowship with them.[1]

When by the passing of time these mental impressions gradually grew weaker and less distinct, and the visions of the risen Jesus consequently became less frequent, the question as to where the risen Jesus was must have offered itself to the minds of his followers. It was natural that since they thought of Jesus as a prophet like unto Moses and since they believed that not only Moses but such rare spirits as Enoch and Elijah had gone directly to heaven, they should conceive of the spirit of Jesus as having undergone a similar exaltation. The resurrection of Jesus then came to be regarded as the first necessary step to his exaltation to heaven. And this conception of Jesus must have been one of the factors that changed the disciples from a band of disheartened fishermen to a group of bold and enthusiastic preachers. Perhaps already they felt because of this new hope born in them that a

[1] See on the subject of the resurrection-appearances of Jesus Lake, The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, pp. 166-279.

portion of the spirit of Jesus had descended upon them, as Elijah's also had fallen upon Elisha in years gone by.

Now there must have taken place at an early stage[2] in the religious development of the disciples the identification of this exalted Jesus with the Apocalyptic Messiah who was to come from heaven to establish his kingdom upon earth. Whether they during Jesus' life upon earth came to regard him as the Messiah is open to question; but if they did, they certainly did not apply the Apocalyptic conception of the Messiah to him. And even now when they did come to identify the heavenly Jesus and the Apocalyptic Messiah, they at first may still not have regarded the earthly Jesus as having been the Messiah. The ascription of Messiahship to his earthly career may have taken place later. But however that may be, the fact that now they did think of him as the heavenly Messiah soon to come on the clouds to establish his kingdom, was an item of supreme significance to them. Imagine what new hope, what new enthusiasm, what fervor and joy, what a sense of victory must have possessed their hearts at the thought. This must have been the stimulus for the outburst of all the emotional instincts of their souls.

How did they explain this new and overpowering experience in their hearts? They did it, of course, in the same way in which the people of that age explained everything abnormal, strange and inexplicable, that is, they attributed it to the Spirit of God. They felt that they had come to the last days, when a new order was about to be established upon the earth, and they doubtless called to mind the prophecy of Joel that in the new age the Spirit would be poured out on all men. Thus they identified their experience with the outpouring of the Spirit which had been foretold of the Messianic age. And furthermore since it was their thought of the heavenly Jesus that was the occasion for this new emotional experience, they naturally felt that this Spirit came from Jesus.

But this new conception of the heavenly Jesus stirred them also to action. They had to prepare people for the coming of the Messiah and they began to preach or prophecy concerning this coming event. It was good news; it was gospel. The enthusiasm was infectious. Others were stirred by their message and these too ascribed the unaccountably

[2] This must have occurred before cir. 33-35 A. D., for when Paul was converted this seems to have been the conception with which he started out on his Christian career.

joyous and abnormal condition of their mind to the operation of the Spirit. Then in imitation of what they had seen their Master do they began to heal the sick and to cast out demons. They knew that their fellow-countrymen used the names of great characters such as Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, and Adam, or the names of angels such as Michael and Gabriel, when they cast out demons,[3] for they thought that somehow the power of the personality resided in the name of the person. So since the disciples of Jesus had experienced the power of his personality while he was on earth and believed him now to be an angelic being, they used his name when they cast out demons and they found out that it had a peculiar charm and power over the minds of these mentally deranged people supposedly possessed by some demonic being.

Then persecution came because of their preaching and their exorcism and their agitation. But strange to say their hope of Jesus' coming in the near future made them bold and they continued to preach in the face of opposition. This boldness was something inexplicable and strange to men of their education and social status, and it too was ascribed to the influence of the Spirit.

This was no doubt the way in which the idea of the Spirit as being the cause for the unexpected and extraordinary experiences of the early group of Jewish Christians arose. And the things which they regarded as Spirit-operations depended upon their experiences and on what in these experiences they considered as being abnormal and supersensuous. We might say then that the first Christians regarded such phenomena as visions, prophecy, healing, exorcism, and perhaps glossolalia[4] as activities of the Spirit.

When Christianity spread among the Hellenistic Jews and entered the Gentile world, the preaching of the gospel stirred up a like enthusiasm and emotional experience in the souls of those who gave heed to the message. This message concerned itself not only with the idea of

[3] See Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, pp. 176-182.

[4] These phenomena and ecstatic conditions are all characteristic of Palestinian Jewish life, though not confined to the Jews. There may be a question as to whether glossolalia was found among the Jews, for the distinctive references in late Jewish literature to this form of ecstatic utterance are not very numerous. It seems to connect up more closely with the ravings of the earlier prophets. And yet there is enough evidence to show that this peculiar practice prevailed, to an extent at least, among the Jews of the Graeco-Roman period as well. Some of the clearest examples are the ecstatic utterances of the daughters of Job (Test. Job, 48-50) and the experience which Isaiah is said to have had at his martyrdom (Asc. of Is., 6:10-12). It might be said that these do not represent real experiences but are mere literary fictions. That

the Apocalyptic Messiah which would appeal of course to the Hellenistic Jews and even to many of the Gentiles who were looking and longing for a Golden Age to come, but also with the idea of the lordship of Jesus over all spiritual beings and forces and with the presentation of his function as a dying and rising deity. Salvation was secured by calling in the aid of the power resident in the name of this Lord of Spirits,[5] and immortality was to be gained by a union with the god who had died but now was risen and alive.[6] The preaching of such a message filled the hearts of the believers with a new hope, a new sense of triumph, and of course the emotional impulses thus aroused caused ecstatic conditions to arise. Some were so overcome by their emotions as to lose all control of their vocal organs, and all they could do was to give vent to their feelings in a stream of incoherent and unintelligible utterances and sounds. Others had visions and revelations in which they believed themselves transported to heaven or heard strange voices from the spiritual world. Some were more able to control their feelings and retained possession of their rational faculties. These foretold the future or brought a message of exhortation and consolation to the other believers. Others again, believing that they had acquired a like power as their Lord over spirits and demons, cast out the spirits which they supposed had taken possession of the sick and demonized. Some evinced an unwonted enthusiasm in works of charity and in this way expressed what to them was a work of the Spirit. Others displayed special ability and skill in interpreting what was in the mind of the ecstatic who could not intelligibly express himself, or in discerning whether the spirit supposedly inspiring the ecstatic was beneficial or harmful to the Christian community.

So we might say that in general these emotional experiences of the early Christians expressed themselves either in act or word, or in visions and revelations. And they were of course, in accord with the beliefs of the age, ascribed to spiritual agency because of their abnormal nature.

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may be true, and yet the authors of these works nevertheless thus betray an acquaintance with a practice that must have prevailed in their day. Other references may be found in Eth. En. 40; Jub. 12:17; IV Ez. 5:22; esp. 14:37 ff.; Mar. of Is. 5:14. So it is quite possible that the Palestinian Jewish Christians could have had an experience of this kind, even if the account in Acts 2 be tinged with the ideas of the author and might therefore represent the Gentile rather than the Jewish conception of the Spirit in the early Church.

[5] Rom. 10:9; I Cor. 12:3.

[6] I Cor. 15:3, 4, 22.

There seems to have been a tendency on the part of some who, Gentiles as they were, were not so rigidly monotheistic as the Jews, to ascribe these various actions and experiences each to its own spirit or demon. At least this is the tendency which Paul seems to be combating when he insists in his Corinthian correspondence that all these various operations and phenomena were the result of the activity of one and the same Spirit, that is, the Spirit of Christ.[7] And it was doubtless due in large part to the efforts of Jewish and Hellenistic missionaries among the Gentiles that the spiritual activities of the Gentile Christian communities were thus unified.

Our materials for discovering what the early Christians regarded as operations of the Spirit are found chiefly in the Pauline letters, in the Gospels, in the Acts, and in Revelation. These materials seem to reveal rather a sharp distinction between the popular conceptions of the Spirit's activity, which Paul and the primitive Christians held in common, and the mystical and more speculative notions which mark the departure of Paul from the popular ideas and are found mainly in the Pauline and Johannine literature.

The list of activities belonging to the popular notions of the Spirit, which we glean from the books of the New Testament, is rather a long one though perhaps incomplete. Paul gives several lists in his letters, and since they are not equally inclusive and do not coincide to any considerable degree, we may infer that he does not mention all the operations of the Spirit which prevailed in the churches of his day.[8] By combining the lists and deducting those offices and activities that may be identified, we have left a list of about ten which would in the main cover the operations mentioned by Paul. They are: apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, healings, helps, governings, discerning of spirits, speaking with tongues, and interpretation of tongues. So far as popular ideas were concerned, we find both in the Pauline letters outside of these lists and in the other New Testament books spirit-activities which may be thought not to belong to any one of these ten kinds, such as, for example, revelation through dreams and apparitions, the activities of angels, the use of inspired Scripture, immunity from harm and danger, the use of the curse or anathema, the belief in the heavenly and elemental powers, etc., and yet these latter may in the main be coördinated with the list of ten, and may be regarded as a part of the thought-world

[7] I Cor. 12:4 ff.

[8] See I Cor. 12:8-10; 12:28-30; Rom. 12:6-8; Eph. 4:11.

and experience of the inspired leaders at least, if not of the believers in general.

We notice that of the ten three represent church leaders while the remaining seven are spirit-activities, not classes of inspired men. No doubt the order in which both the leaders and the activities are given represents the relative importance which Paul attached to these offices and gifts, those mentioned first being regarded as the most important.

The apostles stand first in the list and doubtless in the order of importance. They were the pioneer organizers and missionaries of the Church, who received their right and authority to be called apostles at least in part by the fact that they had had visions of the Lord Jesus and had the power of performing miracles.[9] Spiritual power was attributed to them doubtless for two reasons: (1) in the first place they preached a message which produced ecstatic conditions in their auditors, and so the message and therefore the messengers must have been inspired;[10] (2) in the second place they were conceived of as having been *sent* (αποστέλλειν) by the Lord Jesus, even as he had been sent by the Father. Of course he was the Spirit-filled messenger of the Deity,[11] and when he gave his disciples authority and power to go out and carry on his work, this implied that he imparted unto them this same Spirit-power which he himself had possessed.[12] The fact that they were able to heal the sick, cast out demons, confound their enemies, and perform deeds even greater than those that were wrought by Jesus, was a sign that they had this power.[13]

It is thought by some that Paul in his list of spiritual gifts given in I Cor. 12:8-10, in which he omits direct mention of apostles, prophets and teachers, and seems to substitute in their place the phrases, "the word of wisdom," "the word of knowledge," and "faith," thus wishes to designate the spiritual endowment or function of each of these three classes of leaders; but this can hardly be his intention, for he must have thought of all these three classes of workers as possessing these gifts in varying degrees, and he surely could not have conceived of them whether collectively or individually as the exclusive possession of any single one of these classes. Paul as an apostle would have resented any implication that he did not, for example, possess the word of gnosis or

[9] I Cor. 9:1; II Cor. 12:12; I Thes. 1:5; Rom. 15:8; I Cor. 2:4; Acts 1:21 ff.
[10] Gal. 3:2, 5.
[11] Matthew 10:1; Heb. 3:1; John 17:18.
[12] Mark 6:7, 30; Luke 9:10.
[13] John 14:12 *et al.*

intuitive knowledge as well as the word of σοφία or knowledge derived from discursive thought and reflection,[14] or that he did not have the power of faith to perform miraculous deeds. The inspired character of the apostle, the feature that distinguished him from the other Christian leaders, lay in the fact that he was the delegated messenger from some spiritual being or authority and that by his message he was the instrument of first arousing his hearers to ecstatic conditions, not in his possession of σοφία rather than γνῶσις or πίστις.[15]

Whether Jesus called his disciples apostles can not be definitely determined; if he did not do so, they must have been called by that title very soon after his death. The inactivity of the disciples for a time after his death, though attributed no doubt at a later time to the instructions which they had supposedly received from Jesus himself, was due to their lack of a feeling of responsibility as apostles or messengers. If they had been called apostles by Jesus, they certainly did not act when Jesus died as if they felt an apostolic call. It is more likely that the name came to be attached to them after they began to feel the call to preach the gospel and especially after they began to go forth to Antioch and the Gentile world for the purpose of religious propaganda. But at any rate the idea of an apostle or prophet as being the messenger of God was familiar to both Jew and Greek, and could have arisen either in the Palestinian or in the Gentile Church.

The translators of the Old Testament used the word apostle where Abijah is represented as being a messenger to Jeroboam[16] and where Isaiah speaks of messengers who were to be sent to Jerusalem from Ethiopia.[17] The word in the sense of a messenger was in use in Greece as early as Herodotus.[18] There is a passage in Epictetus which perhaps

[14] This is the distinction which Schmiedel makes between γνῶσις and σοφία (Encyc. Bib., Art., "Spiritual Gifts," sec. 6.)

[15] It is clear from Paul's own account of his pneumatic experiences that he could have been classed as a prophet and a tongue-speaker as well as an apostle, for he had visions and revelations and enjoyed the ecstatic experience of glossolalia (II Cor. 12:1; I Cor. 14:14, 15, 18). Hence it is a mistake to think that one can ascribe certain gifts of the Spirit to a definite class of believers or divide the believers into definite classes according to the kind of gift or gifts which they possess. At any rate the mention of prophecy in I Cor. 12:10 would preclude the possibility of identifying prophecy with the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, or faith, given in the immediately preceding context.

[16] I Ki. 14:6.

[17] Is. 18:1, 2, 7.

[18] Hdt. I, 21; V, 38.

throws as much light as any upon the question as to what the Greeks and Romans would have conceived a Christian apostle to be.[19] In this he speaks of the Cynic preacher as the messenger of Zeus come to inform men of their wandering from the right way and of their vain efforts to find happiness in any but the Cynic type of life. Apollonius of Tyana who went from city to city preaching and instructing the people, and who when in Rome visited temple after temple exciting a religious revival, might be pointed out as an example as to what conceptions the Gentiles would have of an apostle.[20] From the large number of Cynic and Stoic preachers who lived and labored in that age we can imagine that the sight of a Christian preacher or apostle coming to a city or marketplace and delivering his message would have been a familiar one to most of the people. The degree of inspiration attributed to him and to his message would in a general way correspond to the amount of enthusiasm which he could stir up in his hearers and to the kind and number of miraculous deeds and signs which he could perform.[21] And his message would receive a welcome reception to a large extent in proportion to the kind and nature of spiritual manifestations that attended its delivery.[22]

In both Jewish and Gentile life the prophet occupied a prominent place. In chapter two we noticed what an important rôle the prophet played among the Jews. And the same might be said with regard to the Gentiles. We know how popular the Greek oracles, such as those at Delphi and Dodona, were in ancient times. The Apollo cult in particular was largely built up around the idea of prophecy. We know what an influence the soothsayers and astrologers wielded not only over the

[19] Epict., Diss., III, 22, sec. 23.

[20] Philostr., Apoll. Tyan., IV, 41.

[21] In Acts 14:12 Barnabas and Paul are called gods because they could heal a crippled man; and when they call Paul Hermes because he was the chief speaker, they reflect the Greek idea of a divine and inspired messenger. Paul and Barnabas refuse to accept the ovation not because they did not think of themselves as divine messengers or apostles, but because their Jewish aversion to the thought of the deification of man prevented them from doing so. Paul perhaps refers to this incident in Gal. 4:14; at least this passage indicates what conception the Galatians had of the apostle.

[22] The word, apostle, as has often been pointed out, is used in the New Testament in a narrower and a broader sense. The distinction perhaps rests upon the idea that the original group of disciples and those who had direct visions of the Lord Jesus were more fully equipped with spiritual power than those who, though going by the name of apostle and acting as messengers of God, were somewhat farther removed from the source of this power.

popular mind but in government and literary circles as well; and we are aware of the large use the Greek generals and the Roman Emperors and officials made of men possessed of the gift of divination, especially in the conduct of their military expeditions.[23]

The ecstatic condition necessary for the exercise of the prophetic gift, though excited very often by external means, was generally regarded as being brought on by the action of a demon or god who took possession of the prophet. The Pythia of course was supposed to be possessed by Apollo.[24] The demon of Socrates, according to Plutarch,[25] brought visions to guide the philosopher in his actions, and going before him shed a light upon hidden and obscure matters which could not be discovered by unassisted human understanding. This demon was not a divine apparition but a voice; it was Deity speaking to the soul of the philosopher. Plutarch is quite firmly convinced that the demons are responsible for the oracles,[26] and even where he admits that the exhalations of certain fumes from the earth cause ecstatic conditions, he asserts that the demons have charge of these exhalations.[27] The Deity uses the human soul as His instrument as the human soul uses the body; and this is the cause of prophecy.[28] He thinks of prophecy as the excitation of an inferior soul by the understanding of a superior nature and of a more divine soul, the action resembling the way in which speech influences and arouses another person.[29] It should be noted however that Plutarch did not regard prophecy as a universal gift, but claimed that it was limited to those who had the proper qualifications for understanding the instructions of the demons, such as genteel breeding, a philosophical education, a governable and obedient temper, a quiet and sedate mind, etc.[30] In some of these ideas Plutarch doubtless represents the philosophical point of view and yet if he, a philosopher, thought

[23] If Plutarch may be believed, we may see from a statement which he makes in his Sentiments Concerning Nature, V, 1, that practically all the philosophers with the exception of Xenophanes and Epicurus believed in the art of divination. He says that Plato and the Stoics regarded divination as a divine enthusiasm, and that the prophetic faculty was an inspiration or an illapse of divine knowledge into man. Prophecy was possible because the soul was of divine constitution. He also states that Pythagoras, Aristotle and Dicaearchus admitted certain forms of divination.

[24] See Rohde, Psyche, II, pp. 60-1.

[25] Disc. Conc. Soc. Dem., 10.

[26] Why the Orac. Cease, 15 & 38.

[27] *Op. cit.*, 40 & 48.

[28] *Op. cit.*, 21.

[29] Dis. Conc. Soc. Dem., 20.

[30] *Op. cit.*, 21 & 22.

so much of the oracles and of the inspiration of the prophets, how much more must the common people have been interested in this element in their lives and environment.

Apollonius of Tyana furnishes us with as good an example as any that we can find of what the ancients conceived of as a prophet. He was able as the result of divine inspiration to foretell future events such as the rebellion of Vindex against Nero, the death of Titus, catastrophes such as shipwrecks, etc. He had the power of the seer, for it is reported that while at Ephesus he saw the death of Domitian at Rome. He was also possessed of supernatural knowledge, for he is said to have been able to understand all the languages of men and beasts and to read the secret thoughts of men's hearts. The power to perform miracles was also claimed for him by his followers.[31] Of course much of this information is the accretion of a tradition which grew up after Apollonius' death, and yet the picture which we here have of him represents what the people of that day thought of a prophet.

Now both Jews and Gentiles who became Christians brought these ideas and conceptions of the prophet with them into the Christian circle. They believed that either the Spirit of Jesus or the Lord Jesus himself would possess them and would enable them to foretell the future and to acquire a knowledge of the mysteries of God. Hence it is that in the early Christian communities a class of inspired persons called prophets arose. These were doubtless found in the Palestinian Christian group as well as in the Gentile churches. The four virgin daughters of Philip are represented in Acts as being prophetesses,[32] and the activities of a certain prophet Agabus are mentioned twice.[33] We are also told that there were prophets and teachers in the church at Antioch among whom Barnabas and Saul, and later also Judas and Silas, were numbered.[34] In the Pauline churches the prophet evidently occupied a place next to the apostle in importance. When Matthew was written a reward was attached to the reception of the prophet's person and message.[35] The book of Revelation, as well as the Apocalyptic passages in the Gospels and in Paul, indicates that the Apocalyptic form of prophecy was

[31] See Philostratos' Life of Apollonius.

[32] Acts 21:9.

[33] Acts 11:27 ff.; 21:10 ff.

[34] Acts 13:1 ff.; 15:32: In 27:10 *et al.* Paul is represented as being able to foretell the future.

[35] Matthew 10:41.

quite prevalent in the churches of the first century.[36] And the Didache shows that prophets were still active in the Church near the middle of the second century, though the anxiety of the author that the prophets be properly cared for would perhaps be an indication that they were beginning to suffer from neglect.[37]

The prophet differed from the apostle in that he was no doubt a localized as well as an itinerant worker. He was at times a local preacher; yet not a formal officer of the church. He spoke when he felt moved by the Spirit. In fact, it is quite probable that all the believers in the early Christian communities were given more or less to prophesying, and prophecy must have been practically a universal feature of primitive church life.[38]

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The function of the prophet was the imparting of divine knowledge presumably obtained through contact with the Deity or with His Spirit, that is, through revelation not through the exercise of the normal rational faculties. To get this knowledge either the soul of the prophet was elevated to heavenly regions, or else the Deity or His Spirit came down and took possession of the prophet's body.[39] This knowledge consisted chiefly of things unseen and hence was concerned in the main with the future and with the hidden purposes of God. Agabus foretold the famine in Judaea as well as the sufferings of Paul in Jerusalem.[40] Paul was able to forecast the final history of the Jewish people as well as the end of the age.[41] In fact, the whole Apocalyptic movement in the early Church was little more than a prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah, the establishing of His kingdom, and the catastrophic events

[36] In I Cor. 14:30, 31 Paul practically identifies prophecy and revelation.

[37] Did. 12:1, 3, 6, 7.

[38] The application which Peter is said to have made of the passage from Joel 2:28 ff. to the Pentecostal experience seems to point to a universal practice on the part of the early believers; and the statements which Paul makes in such passages as I Cor. 14:5, 31 almost lead one to believe that prophecy was a universal gift among the Corinthian believers. And yet verses like I Cor. 12:10 and 14:29 clearly show that some of the members were accustomed to prophesy while others possessed gifts of a different nature.

[39] In the Hermetic Corpus we find two types of revelation: in the one case a god or demigod like Hermes, Asklepios, or Thot reveals what he has seen or has had communicated to him by the Supreme Deity or Father, in the other case a man or prophet reveals what he has found out either through a god dwelling in him called down by prayer or through his ascent to heaven with the help of the Deity. See further Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 178.

[40] Acts 11:28; 21:10 ff.

[41] Rom. 11:25 ff.; I Cor. 15:23 ff., 51 ff.; *et al.*

that should precede and attend it. But the prophet also spoke of the mysteries of God and of men; to him was revealed the wisdom of God which had been hid from ages past, and he could read the secrets of men's hearts.[42] The Christians in particular regarded the mystery of Jesus' death and resurrection as well as the growing tradition concerning his earthly career as having been revealed through the agency of the Spirit,[43] but these elements in the early Christian message may have belonged rather to the function of the apostle than to that of the prophet. According to Acts the chief function of the prophet seems to have been to foretell the future. With Paul the final object of prophecy was to edify and comfort the community of believers as well as to convert sinners to repentance.[44] It is not hard to imagine how a message which proclaimed the speedy coming of the Deliverer and the assurance of immortal life to the believer would not only stir up the emotions of the Christian group in general, but would encourage and console those in particular who were tired of this world, perhaps were suffering persecution, and were longing for a life of bliss in the future.

When we turn to the psychology of the prophetic experience we enter the realm of trance conditions brought on by some strong emotional excitation. But it is difficult to tell just how much of the normal consciousness of the prophet was subdued or overcome. Sometimes the prophet remained in control of his will; at other times he was unconscious of what he was saying or doing. So there must have been varying degrees of emotional excitation and reaction within the limits of those phenomena ascribed to the prophetic experience. The Christians believed that the highpriest Caiaphas had prophetic power in that he foretold the death of Jesus, not merely because he as highpriest was supposed to have the gift of prophecy,[45] but because he uttered a statement, the correct import of which he did not know, and hence was unconscious of what he was saying.[46] When the Christian preachers were brought before their persecutors, they were not to use their rational faculties; the Spirit would speak for them through their lips; they were to be passive.[47] In the case of Paul the emotional stimulus was so strong and the power of imagination so vivid that when he had his

[42] I Cor. 2; 14:24 ff.; John 4:18; *et al.*
[43] I Cor. 2:2, 4; John 14:26; 16:13.
[44] I Cor. 14:3, 25.
[45] Jos., Ant., VII, 4, 1; XIII, 10, 7; Wars, I, 2, 8.
[46] John 11:51.
[47] Mark 13:11; Luke 12:12; cf. Luke 21:15.

visions he was unconscious of the presence of his body.[48] The Apocalyptist believed that his soul was caught up into heaven while his body lay lifeless until the soul returned,[49] or that what he heard was revealed to him by an angel;[50] what he wrote was superhuman knowledge and could not have been derived from his own powers of mind. And as a rule it was thought that the prophet was used by the Spirit merely as an instrument through which a divine message might be revealed. The thoughts and words of the prophet were really not his own but those of the Spirit which had taken temporary possession of him.

However we are not to think that the prophet always lost control of all his faculties. He still retained the power of memory for he could remember his vision or revelation sufficiently well to be able to tell it to others or to write it down in a book.[51] He still retained control of his vocal organs, for what he said was in intelligible language, and he himself understood what he was saying.[52] Furthermore, the prophet was not so completely under the control of the Spirit that he could not refrain from giving his message, for the "spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,"[53] which is perhaps only another way of saying that the prophets were able to check and govern their impulses and emotions.[54]

[48] II Cor. 12:2, 3. In the Hermetic Corpus, X, 4, we are told that when knowledge and visions of divine light are attained, the bodily senses are inoperative. The initiate is oblivious of all bodily perceptions and movements. The soul is drawn out of the body and transformed into *οὐσία*.

[49] Rev. 1:17; 4:2; *et al.*

[50] Rev. 1:1; 22:8. Cf. the vision of Timarchus in Plut., Dis. Conc. Soc. Dem., 21 & 22.

[51] Acts 10:30; Rev. 1:19. See also IV Ez. 14:38 ff. There were doubtless cases however where the seer lost consciousness and forgot the content of his vision.

[52] I Cor. 14:1 ff. See also Chrysostom. Hom. XXIX on I Cor. 12:2, where he distinguishes between the soothsayer and prophet by saying that the former was possessed by a demon and like a madman was beside himself, while the latter with sober mind spoke knowing what he said.

[53] I Cor. 14:32.

[54] The expressions, "to be filled with the Spirit" (Luke 1:15, 41; Acts 2:4; 4: 8) and "to be full of the Spirit" (Luke 4:1; Acts 6:3, 5; 7:55) were used no doubt to describe an experience when a man had lost his normal consciousness, that is, his body had been preempted of his "I" or self and had become filled with Spirit-fluidum. The application of the word, *πνευματικοί*, to a certain class of believers (Rom. 15:27; I Cor. 2:15; 14:37; Gal. 6:1) and the idea of "dividing the Spirit" (Heb. 2:4) would indicate not that some of the believers were regarded as lacking altogether the possession of the Spirit but that there were grades of Spirit-filled Christians. According to the popular conception then, the ecstatic condition in which the subject lost most con-

The teacher was also a prominent figure in the Graeco-Roman world. Sometimes he was an itinerant preacher, but oftentimes he settled down in a place and, gathering a band of students together, established a school.[55] Quite frequently he resorted to the written page and endeavored to teach the public through his literary activity. One need only point to the large number of teachers of philosophy, especially Stoics, Cynics, and Sophists, who went about from place to place lecturing and preaching, or establishing schools and writing books, in order to realize what a great interest was taken at that time in instruction. Many of these teachers of course were simply aiming to tickle the ears or fancy of the people so as to gain a livelihood, but it can not be denied that some of them were imbued with a deep sense of responsibility to bring a moral and religious message to their age. Such for example were the Cynics, Demonax and Dion Chrysostom, and the Stoics, Seneca and Epictetus. They were more preachers than philosophers.[56] They dealt, of course, with the usual problems of philosophy, such as ontology, cosmology, and epistemology; but they placed by far the greater emphasis upon ethics and upon man's relations to the Deity.

Among the Jews too the teacher played a prominent rôle. The Wisdom movement was essentially a teaching movement. And the sage was thought to possess the Spirit.[57] Philo as we have seen was conscious of divine inspiration. Teaching was no doubt the main function also of the Rabbis. And they too, contrary to our conception of them as being dry legalists and given merely to the letter of the Law, were at least in many cases regarded by the Jews as inspired persons. Hillel, Simeon ben Jochai, Eleasar and Jochanan ben Sakkai were supposed to have been possessed by the Spirit of God. And Rabbis like Ben Asai, Ben Soma, Acher, and Akiba are even said to have had Apocalyptic visions in which their souls were taken up into the heavens.[58]

Teachers appear also in the early Christian communities alongside the prophets. They were doubtless to be found in both the Palestinian

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trol of his will and consciousness was the most spiritual; and this may explain why tongue-speaking was so popular in the Corinthian Church. Paul's idea of what constituted a Spirit-filled man differed somewhat from the popular notion, as we shall see, and that is why he placed prophecy above tongues.

[55] The school of Tyrannus (Acts 19:9) was doubtless one of this sort.

[56] See Dill, Rom. Soc. in Time of Nero, Bk. 3, ch. 2.

[57] Wis. 9:17.

[58] See Volz, Der Geist Gottes, pp. 99 ff. and 115 ff., and the authorities cited there.

and Gentile churches. They appear at Antioch,[59] in the Pauline churches,[60] and among the readers of the epistle of James.[61] What their function was is not stated but may in part be inferred from the current notions of the office of the teacher.[62] They doubtless taught the gospel and its ethics, and imparted knowledge concerning the words and deeds of Jesus. They may also have dealt with the interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies and may have tried to prove the Messiahship of Jesus in this way. As the sages and scribes of the Jews had to do with the conduct of the people and the interpretation of their Scriptures, so this must have been the function of the Christian teachers. Since they had no Scriptures of their own but continued to use the Jewish Scriptures, it was natural that they should endeavor to interpret the latter in the light of their new belief in Jesus' Messiahship. Their message appealed more to the rational faculties than the message of the prophets, and they were no doubt regarded as less inspirational than the latter. Whether we possess the names of any teachers referred to in the New Testament is difficult to say; Apollos answers more nearly to the conception of a teacher than any other New Testament character.[63] The two books of Hebrews and James represent doubtless the work of Christian teachers.

The early Christians lived in a time when the people, as we have seen, had a dualistic view of the world and peopled the world about them with all kinds of spirits, demons, and spiritual powers. These demons under the leadership of Satan were antagonistic to God, angels and

[59] Acts 13:1.

[60] I Cor. 12:28; Rom. 12:7; Eph. 4:11.

[61] Jas. 3:1. The author is here advising against too many becoming teachers for there was danger that they would be unable to practise what they taught and would subject themselves by their inconsistency to judgment. Nevertheless the passage implies that in the circle addressed teaching was very popular. The situation seems to have been just the opposite from that depicted in Heb. 5:11 ff.

[62] The passage in Heb. 5:11 ff. may not refer to teachers as a class of leaders in the Church, but uses the word teacher in more of a generic and didactic sense. The author is endeavoring to stir up his readers to assume a greater responsibility in instructing others. And yet the passage perhaps indicates what the office of the teacher was. He was to instruct the babes, those who were dull of hearing and had not the experience of the word of righteousness, in the rudiments or first principles of God's oracles, and interpret them so as to enable the pupils to discern between good and evil. His concern thus was a matter of ethics.

[63] Acts 18:24 ff., especially vs. 25. The reference to prophrets and teachers in the Antiochian church gives names but does not designate what ones are prophets and what ones are teachers (Acts 13:1).

man, and were responsible for all that was evil and injurious to the best interests of mankind. They believed that these evil spirits were the cause of disease, insanity, and mental and nervous disorders. They were constantly hovering around and endeavoring to inhabit some human body, and man was helpless in warding them off unless he possessed the power or name of some stronger spirit or Deity. It was with such an attitude of mind toward the spiritual world that the people of the first century A. D. whether Jew or Gentile joined the Christian movement; and bringing these ideas with them, it is quite natural that when they became Christians they should resort to exorcism and establish that as a part of the cult practices. They believed that Jesus had become Lord of the heavenly world and was master of the spiritual forces there. If, as we are told, he cast out demons while on earth, that was an indication that even during his earthly career he had had the mastery over them. Now since the disciples believed that by the use of the name of the Deity they could overcome the demons, and especially since they as a result of their ecstatic experiences believed that they were possessed of the Spirit and power of the heavenly Lord Jesus, they began to cast out demons and to heal diseases. The claims which they made of possessing this power, and the enthusiasm which filled their lives in the first glow of their new faith inspired confidence in the insane and nervously disordered who were supposedly possessed of demons, and their minds and bodies were restored to normal conditions.[64]

But the early Christians did not believe that the activity of evil spirits was confined simply to diseases and mental disorders. They felt that the demons and especially Satan, their Prince, were active in their opposition to the Christian movement and that this opposition took in the main the form of leading the Christians into temptation,

[64] It should be noted that not much is said about exorcism in the New Testament books themselves. Outside of the Marcan narrative and several references in Acts (5:16; 16:18; 19:12) very little mention is made of casting out demons. Paul is remarkably silent on the subject of exorcism in his letters. The word, "miracles," in I Cor. 12:10, 28 doubtless includes the idea of exorcism, especially since it stands in juxtaposition with "healings," a distinction which Mark also makes; yet it might also include such practices as the raising of the dead or the contravening of the powers of nature. It should be noticed also that the Fourth Gospel fails to give a single instance of Jesus' healing a demonized person. But in spite of this silence we are justified, on the ground of what little evidence we do find in the New Testament and especially on the ground of the extensive practice of exorcism in the Church of the second century as indicated in the Christian literature of the time, in concluding that the practice was more or less general among the Christians even in the first century.

of causing false teachers to arise, and of arousing in men and rulers a spirit of persecution against the Christians.[65] Satan not only tempted Jesus but he desired to lead Peter astray.[66] They that sin or give way to temptation are regarded as children of the devil.[67] Satan filled Ananias' heart to do wrong.[68] Christians were to protect themselves from the wily attempts of the devil to lead them into error and sin; in fact, according to Paul's notion the real struggle of a Christian to remain loyal in faith and to keep from sin was not with his earthly enemies but with the spiritual forces of the heavenly places, the principalities, the powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness.[69] It was Mammon that was enticing people to avarice, and the demons were at work tempting the Christians, that is, the Gentile Christians, to eat meat that had been sacrificed to them.[70] It was in this way that the Christians explained the cause for any of their number falling away from or below the standards of the cult. Of course, they were confident that the power of God in them was able to overcome all temptation,[71] yet it was necessary for them to be constantly on the watch lest these demonic forces lead them into sin.[72]

The same explanation was given to the rise of false teaching. Sorcery and exorcism unless practised by Christians was wrong and was the work of Satan, a method by which he was deceiving the world.[73] Satan was responsible for the tares and he was the father of lies.[74] False apostles were the ministers of Satan and like him tried to fly under false colors.[75] Those Docetic teachers who denied the humanity of

[65] See especially Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes u.s.w., pp. 4 ff.

[66] Mark 1:13; Luke 22:31.

[67] I John 3:8.

[68] Acts 5:3.

[69] Eph. 6:10 ff.

[70] Rev. 2:14, 20; I Cor. 10:20; Acts 15:20; Matthew 6:24.

[71] I Cor. 10:13; I John 5:18, 19. See further on Satan as tempter I Thes. 3:5; I Cor. 7:5; I Tim. 5:14, 15; I Pet. 5:8.

[72] Mark 14:38.

[73] Acts 13:10; Rev. 9:21; 13:14; 18:23. The narrative in Acts 19:13 ff. was introduced to show the danger resulting from the use of the name of Jesus except by his own followers. Mark 9:38 and Luke 9:49 give an instance in which a man, not a follower of Jesus, was casting out demons in his name. This may be regarded as an exceptional case only in the sense that the New Testament writers mention no other. Matthew conspicuously omits it. It is probable that others used the name of Jesus in exorcising demons, but the Christians endeavored of course to prohibit the practice and to limit it to the members of the cult.

[74] Matthew 13:39; John 8:44.

[75] II Cor. 11:14, 15.

Christ were anti-Christs and were under the influence of the Deceiver.[76] As a rule all heterodoxy or teaching that was thought to endanger the best interests of the cult was attributed to Satanic origin.[77]

And of course the forces that opposed the Christians and caused the members of the cult to suffer were inspired by demonic power. Jesus' death in the first instance was due to the work of Satan in Judas' heart.[78] And when once the death of Jesus came to be recognized as a necessary part of the Messianic program, the mere suggestion that he should not have given himself up to death was Satanic.[79] The Jews who opposed the movement supposedly from the beginning were regarded in the Johannine circle as the children of the devil.[80] The world whose Prince was Satan hated the followers of Jesus and persecuted them.[81] Satan hindered Paul in his work of Christian propaganda.[82] The sufferings of the Christians whom the author of I Peter addressed were ascribed to the agency of the devil.[83] The whole message of the book of Revelation is directed toward comforting and encouraging Christian communities who were being persecuted by the Roman authorities, and it is noteworthy how the author conceives of the Beast or Roman State as being under the influence of the dragon or Satan, and of Babylon or Rome as being the habitation of demons.[84] In the author's mind the Christian program involved the conflict of two opposing spiritual kingdoms, on the one side Jesus the Lord of lords with his hosts of angels, on the other Satan with his hosts of demons, the conflict of course to issue triumphantly for the former.

When one then considers the large place which the demons occupied in the thought-world of the early Christians, one can realize what importance they would attach to the practice of exorcism. It was in the use of this art that they showed not only that they had power to heal the sick and the demonized, but that they could overcome all the demonic forces which opposed them and caused them to suffer. Even if they were not yet completely triumphant over their enemies, the time would soon

[76] II John 7 & 8.

[77] I Tim. 4:1, 2; II Tim. 2:26; Jas. 3:15; I John 2:22; Rev. 2:9, 13, 14, 24.

[78] John 6:70; 13:2, 27.

[79] Mark 8:33; Matthew 16:23.

[80] John 8:44.

[81] John 14:30; 15:18-25; 17:14.

[82] I Thes. 2:18.

[83] I Pet. 5:8, 9. In II Cor. 12:7; Rev. 2:10 the suffering ascribed to Satanic origin is thought of as serving ultimately a good purpose.

[84] Rev. 13:1 ff.; 18:2.

come when by the help of the spiritual hosts of heaven they would win the victory.[85]

When Paul speaks of miracles as one of the gifts of the Spirit, he doubtless has in mind this power of casting out demons; or at least in his opinion this practice constituted one of the main elements of the ἐνεργήματα δυναμεῶν. With reference to the healings which Paul places next on his list of gifts it should merely be noted that they were of the same general nature as the δυνάμεις, and were a part of the life and practices of that age. The Jewish Christians were acquainted with the healing practices of their prophets, and the Gentile Christians were familiar with the healing cults of Greece such as the cults of Asklepios and Dionysos, and with the popular practice of incubation. Some of their philosophers also were reported to have had the gift of healing the sick and of raising the dead, as for instance the life of Apollonius of Tyana indicates. Kings too were commonly thought to possess healing virtues.[86] Brought up in the midst of such a thought-world, what else could we have expected the early Christians to do, particularly in view of the fact that their new emotional experiences led them to believe that they possessed the power of Deity, except to practise the art of healing?

The helps to which Paul refers in his Corinthian list of gifts should doubtless be interpreted as referring to the charitable work of the believers. At least the ἀντιλήμψεις of I Cor. 12:28 should, it seems, be identified with the work of the ὁ μεταδιδούς of Rom. 12:8. If this is the case, then the question arises as to why the work of charity was num-

[85] Although Minucius Felix comes a little later than the New Testament period, his statement in Octavius, ch. 27, in a way sums up the early Christian idea with respect to demons, and is worth quoting at length: "Thus these impure spirits or demons, as shown by the magi, by the philosophers and by Plato, are concealed . . . in statues and images, and by their afflatus obtain the authority as of a present deity when at times they inspire priests, inhabit temples, occasionally animate the filaments of entrails, govern the flight of birds, guide the falling of lots, give oracles enveloped in many falsehoods, . . . also creeping secretly into (men's) bodies as thin spirits they feign diseases, terrify minds, distort limbs, in order to compel men to their worship; so that fattening on the steam of altars or their offered victims from the flocks, they may seem to have cured the ailments which they had constrained. And there are the madmen whom ye see rush forth into public places; and the very priests without the temple thus go mad, thus rave, thus whirl about, . . . All these things most of you know, how the very demons confess of themselves so often as they are expelled by us from the patients' bodies with torments of words and fires of prayer. Saturn himself, and Serapis, and Jupiter (the Christians regarded the deities of other cults as demons) and whatsoever demons ye worship, overcome by pain, declare what they

bered among the gifts of the Spirit. The answer lies partly in the high estimation which was put upon almsgiving particularly by the Jews, and partly in the experience of the Christians themselves. The book of Tobit, to cite only one example, shows what value the Jews of the Graeco-Roman period attached to almsgiving. It ranked with prayer as a means of communion with the Deity. Now when the Christian movement began with its Apocalyptic message of the near approach of the Kingdom and with its message of brotherly love, there seems to have been stirred up an unwonted activity in works of charity. There was little need to keep possession of property in view of the imminent expectation of the Parousia; it was better to lay up treasures in heaven by giving the property to the poor.[87] The love of the brethren too must have acted as a powerful influence in the direction of the unselfish distribution of goods. Doubtless the author of Acts was correct when he wrote that "not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own."[88] It is interesting to note in this connection that the sin of Ananias and Sapphira in withholding a part of the property which they supposedly had devoted to the Christian cause was a sin against the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit was evidently connected with this charity movement.[89] In the Pauline churches too appeals must have been made for an expression of almsgiving. We know of one that Paul made himself to the Galatian, Macedonian, and Achaian churches,[90] and he doubtless received in the main a hearty response.

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are; nor surely do they lie concerning their iniquity, above all when several of you are present. Believe these witnesses who confess the truth of themselves, that they are demons. For adjured by the true and only God they shudder reluctant in the wretched bodies, and either issue forth at once or vanish gradually according as the faith of the patient aids or the grace of the curer favors."

[86] Pausanias, Periegesis, II, 26 f., tells of the miracles of Asklepios. And there is a very interesting case of the cure of a young man by Asklepios recorded in the Oxyrr. Pap., 1381, just recently published by Grenfell and Hunt. For the cures wrought by Apollonius see his life by Philostratos. Suetonius, Vesp., 7, gives instances of Vespasian's healing the sick in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. It might be noted also that Serapis was the Egyptian god of healing. In Lucian, Philopseudes, ch. 11, a case of miraculous healing occurs. On this subject see further Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp. 72 ff., and Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder.

[87] Matthew 6:4, 19 ff.; Acts 2:45.

[88] Acts 4:32.

[89] Acts 5:1 ff. The selection of men who were full of the Spirit to carry on the distribution of the charity funds among the Hellenistic Christians in Jerusalem would tend to show the same connection (Acts 6:1-6).

[90] Rom. 15:25 ff.; I Cor. 16:1 ff.; II Cor. 8 & 9. The house of Stephanas (I Cor.

The amount collected was at least sufficient for him to make a trip to Jerusalem at the risk of his life. The deep concern and anxiety which he evidently felt for uniting the Jewish and Gentile churches and the adoption of alms as a method of strengthening this union indicate the value which he attached to this form of Christian activity.

Now knowing that the ancients always ascribed anything extraordinary or unusual to spiritual agencies, we can readily see how the unwonted sharing of property in the Palestinian churches and the perhaps unprecedented spectacle of Gentiles giving alms to the Jews would impress the minds of the Christians as being a work of the Spirit of God. Furthermore, Paul regarded giving as a grace, a grace which he claimed Jesus also possessed,[91] and as a means of stimulating the spiritual life of the recipients and of uniting the giver and the beneficiary more closely together.[92] It was for these reasons that helps were reckoned among the gifts of the Spirit by the early Christians.[93]

What Paul meant by the gift of governings (*κυβερνήσεις*) is not defined by him, but we may infer that it has the same significance as the *ὁ προϊστάμενος* mentioned in the letter to the Romans.[94] One should however be careful not to confound the idea of governing which Paul has in mind here with the work of political rulers, for according to the conceptions of the Christians the gifts of the Spirit were confined to members of the cult and could hardly be regarded as the possession of civil rulers. Governings, or "he that ruleth" then must refer to officers in the Church, not to officers in the State.

It is not difficult to see how the exigencies of the cult and the example which the Christians had set before them of the *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι* of the Jewish synagogues and pagan cults[95] would cause officials of this kind to become a part of the new religion. Just as in the synagogue the need was felt for some one to keep order, to conduct the public worship or to find some one to conduct it, and to care for the synagogue building,

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16:15, 16) seem to have been members of the Corinthian church who possessed the spiritual gift of helps.

[91] II Cor. 8:7-9.

[92] II Cor. 9:12 ff.

[93] The author of I Peter evidently regarded hospitality as a gift of the Spirit and the helps might very well have included this grace (4:9, 10).

[94] I Cor. 12:28; Rom. 12:8.

[95] It should be noticed that according to Eus., H. E., 7, 10, 4, the word, *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, was used in connection with the worship of pagan cults. However it is more likely that the priests or the magistrates were the real ruling body in the pagan systems.

so it became necessary in the Christian communities especially after they separated from the Jewish congregations to have a similar official in each local group of believers. He directed the affairs of the worshipping congregation,[96] arranged for the place and time of meetings, perhaps conducted at times the public worship, but evidently did not do the preaching and exhorting, for that must have been the task of the prophets and teachers. In the Corinthian church the officer in charge doubtless was unable to preserve proper order in the face of the spontaneity in which the worship was carried on. And it was against this disorder that Paul directed his instructions in the twelfth to the fourteenth chapters of our I Corinthians.

It may at first sight not be very clear why an office of this kind should have been numbered among the spiritual gifts, and yet the reason may not be very difficult to find. It seems evident that although the ruler of the Christian group may not have been chosen by formal appointment, he must have been selected by general agreement at least on account of special administrative ability, of the possession of which he had given some evidence. This may very well have been an innate faculty, but to the people of that day the mere fact that he possessed a talent which was unusual and not the common possession of the whole group would mean that this special gift was due to the presence and working of the Spirit. When we further take into account the fact that the success of the Christian movement in its early stages was to no inconsiderable extent due to the wisdom with which the leaders conducted the business of the Church, we may realize that the tendency would surely be to reckon a talent of this kind, which worked for the best interests of the cult among the activities of the Spirit.[97]

With the rise of the ethical movement and the consequent classification of spirits into two groups: good and evil ones, it became necessary for the people of the Graeco-Roman period to be able to differentiate between the two classes. If a man had a bad "genius" as well as a good one in attendance upon him at all times, it was quite important that he should be able to tell which one of the two was speaking to him. The matter was no doubt solved either on the grounds of expediency or according to the standards of the moral conscience, and in case of doubt the decision was often made by the consulting of some oracle, for after all a matter involving the judging of spirits could be determined only by

[96] Κυβέρνησις originally meant the piloting of a ship.

[97] The ὑπηρέται must have been regarded also as persons possessed of the Spirit.

those who were familiar with spirits and were demon-possessed. The spiritual alone were able to judge spiritual things.

Among the Jews the discerning of spirits was connected chiefly with the prophetic message. The question for decision was whether the prophet was telling the truth, and the answer was not always forthcoming. In fact it sometimes remained undetermined until the course of events had proved whether or not the prophet had spoken aright. The criterion by which the prophet was judged was usually a national or patriotic one, the question as to the truth or falsity of his message depending upon its being for the best interests or for the disadvantage of the Jewish people. And of course if his message proved to be disastrous to the nation he was possessed by a false or lying spirit. Later when personal moral purity was stressed, the criterion was based on moral grounds, and whatever worked for the injury and moral defilement of men was judged to be due to the agency of evil spirits, and vice versa.

When the Christian movement began, the need for the discerning of good and evil spirits soon made itself felt. It made itself felt just as soon as the believers became conscious of spiritual endowment and ascribed their utterances to the agency of the Spirit of God.[98] The matter of deciding whether a man was possessed by an evil or a good spirit was not an easy task, for the outward manifestations of their operations were quite alike.[99] It required more than human power and insight to differentiate, and hence the one who had this power was considered as being possessed by the Spirit. And this doubtless explains why Paul places the discerning of spirits in his list of gifts.[100]

The Christians seem to have had several criteria by which they could test the spirits. The test of power was no doubt applied in some Christian communities perhaps at a very early stage of the movement,

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(Acts 13:5). Mark, Timothy, Titus, and a group of similar workers would represent this class. And a large part of their work was doubtless the directing of the administrative affairs of the movement. Nevertheless the ὑπηρέτης can scarcely be identified with the ὁ προϊστάμενος, for the former was an itinerant officer and directed affairs according to the will of a superior authority, while the latter was local and must have had greater freedom of action and privilege of self-initiative.

[98] The author of Acts starts the Christian movement with the preaching of a sermon by Peter at Pentecost, in which he gives his interpretation as to the nature of the spirit that possessed the believers on that occasion.

[99] See Gunkel, Die Wirkungen u.s.w., pp. 35 ff., for a presentation of the similarities between the workings of the demons and those of the Spirit of God.

[100] Cf. I Cor. 2:6-16 where Paul expresses the idea that spiritual things can only be judged by those who have the Spirit of God.

and the one who could cast out demons had the Spirit of God.[101] It was thought too that the demons could be recognized by their unclean nature, their connection with sorrow and sickness, and their working of injury to men.[102] Paul claimed that if a man anathematized Jesus, that was a sign that he was possessed of an evil spirit; but if on the other hand he acknowledged the lordship of Jesus, this fact would indicate his possession of the Holy Spirit.[103] The attitude which a man took toward the personality of Jesus became also the test in other circles. According to Mark acknowledgment of the fact that Jesus was possessed of the Holy Spirit and not by a demon separated the Christians from the Jews.[104] The use of the name of Jesus in the performance of miracles may have been a criterion in some places, perhaps among Jewish Christians.[105] The Johannine test was the acknowledgment either of the divine sonship of Jesus or of the reality of his human body.[106] But in truth none of these criteria was absolute and adequate, for false teachers and prophets arose who claimed allegiance to Christ and made use of the name of Jesus.[107] The real test of a Spirit-filled man was whether his life and utterances were making for the best interests of the cult and whether his character and conduct were in accord with the Christian moral ideals. "By their fruits shall ye know them."[108]

[101] II Thes. 2:8; Mark 6:6; Acts 5:16.

[102] Matthew 15:22; 17:15; Luke 6:18; Acts 10:38.

[103] I Cor. 12:3. It might be noted in this connection that Paul went beyond this popular standard and insisted also that a man's life or character was the test by which his possession of the Spirit could be determined (Gal. 5:16 ff.). This test is also found in Hermas, Mand., 11, and Did. 11:8. One might also say that the idea of some of the Greek philosophers, particularly of Plutarch, that the demons would not take up their abode in a man's soul unless he had certain moral and intellectual qualifications, resembles this Pauline test of character.

[104] Mark 3:24 ff. The importance which was attached to the discerning of spirits by the Marcan circle of Christians may be seen in the fact that a failure to recognize the good spirit in Jesus was thought to involve a man in an eternal and unpardonable sin.

[105] Matthew 7:15, 22; 24:24.

[106] I John 2:18 ff.; 4:1, 2.

[107] II Cor. 11:13, 14; I Tim. 4:1; Rev. 2:20; II Pet. 2:1; Matthew 7:15, 22.

[108] Notice Gunkel's statement regarding the early Christian conception of the operations of the Spirit: "The operations of the Spirit are those mysterious and powerful operations in the realm of human life which stand in some relation to the life of the Christian community, which work no harm to men, which occur often by an express naming of God's or Christ's name, and in all cases befall only such men as are not unworthy of union with God" (Die Wirkungen u.s.w., p. 43). According to this view the operations of the Spirit were limited to men of certain moral and religious qualifications.

Of course, one has to admit that in the case of the glossolalia in the Corinthian church the activity of the Spirit was judged not from its ethical content but from its emotional stimulation and satisfaction. But as a rule throughout the New Testament there is more or less of a moral element attached to the activity of the Spirit in the Christian community. This is the case even in Acts where the powerful and mysterious and emotional aspects of the Spirit stand out so prominently.[109]

The discerner of spirits must then have been quite an important functionary in the primitive Church. The oft-repeated injunction that false prophets and teachers be rejected is an indication of the significance that was attached to the ability to tell whether the teachers and prophets of the Church were under the inspiration of a good or evil spirit. The discerner of spirits may in a sense be regarded as the first of the race of inquisitors that have been guarding the orthodoxy of the Church from the beginning of her history to the present day.

We have already referred to the gift of tongues among the Jews and Jewish Christians,[110] and this must have been a characteristic feature of the life of the early Gentile Christians as well. In the Gentile churches it had its roots in the practices of some of the Greek pagan cults of which the Christians had doubtless formerly been devotees. The raving and shrieking with which the Pythia uttered her oracles was widely known,[111] and Greek literature is abundant in its references to the Bacchic frenzy of the Dionysos worshipper.[112] The names, Bacchos and Iacchos, by which Dionysos was frequently called, are thought to have had their origin in the unintelligible ecstatic utterances of the devotees while they were in a state of frenzy;[113] they were either cries used to stir up emotion, or were themselves the expression of such intense emotion that articulate speech was impossible. Our word, hallelujah, perhaps had a similar origin.

In early times these frenzied states were brought on by some external means such as the eating of drugs or herbs, the inhaling of gases, and

[109] Acts 2:43-47; 5:1 ff.; 15:9; *et al.*

[110] See p. 43, n. 4 above.

[111] Paus. IV, 27, 2; Xen., Mem., I, 1, 9.

[112] See for example Plutarch, Why the Orac. Cease, 14, where he rather unsympathetically describes the mad ravings, the yells, the loud din, the tossing of the neck to and fro, which accompanied on Orphic festival. Rohde, Psyche, II, pp. 11-21, gives further references on the Dionysiac ecstasy.

[113] See Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 414.

the drinking of wine. But in New Testament times the ecstasy was often produced through some emotional excitement, such as when by the performance of some ritual the devotee came to have a sense of union with the Deity. The new emotion which so overpowered him as to make him resemble a mad man, was interpreted to mean that the Deity had taken possession of him. There was a new entity in him which had not been there before.

Now when the Gentiles with such a background became Christians, heard the Christian message of union with Christ and hope of immortality, and partook of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, a like raving and ecstasy seized them; and in the intensity of their emotions they gave vent also to inarticulate cries and yells. These must have brought them a great deal of relief and satisfaction, but because of their unintelligibility were of no benefit to any one but to those who indulged. And of course since this surging up and outburst of emotion was so unusual and abnormal, it was traced to a supernatural and superhuman cause. It was due to the presence of the god Christ or of his Spirit in their hearts and was hence to be regarded as a gift of the Spirit.

The psychology of glossolalia differs very little from that of prophecy. The main difference is that in the former the emotion is stronger and the normal consciousness is more completely subdued.[114] In prophecy the vocal organs are under control but in glossolalia the speech-centers are so excited as to make the utterance nothing but a succession of inarticulate sounds. The bodily movements that accompanied the speech were such as to suggest to the uninitiated that the subject was either mad or intoxicated.[115] The impression which the ecstatic himself received of his experience was that his self or ego had become supplanted by a spiritual entity that entered his body in its stead. The understanding or *νοῦς* was regarded as absent.[116] A statement made by Philo illustrates this point: "If a yearning come upon thee to participate in divine blessedness . . . escape from thyself and go out of thyself in a

[114] The close relation between prophecy and the Dionysiac ecstasy may be inferred from a statement in Euripides (Bacch., 298 ff.):

> "A prophet is this god (Dionysos) for Bacchic rage
> And madness hold large gift of prohecy;
> And when the god in power enters the body,
> He makes the frantic tell what is to be."

[115] I Cor. 14:23; Acts 2:15.

[116] I Cor. 14:13, 14.

Bacchic frenzy, divinely inspired like those who are possessed and filled with Korybantic delirium."[117]

The speaking with tongues seems to have been the favorite gift among the Corinthian believers, and so far as Paul's own personal preference and satisfaction was concerned he esteemed this gift very highly himself,[118] in several passages going so far as practically to identify glossolalia with πνευματικά.[119] According to popular notions this was evidently the most characteristic gift of the Spirit, doubtless because of its strikingly abnormal features. But after all it was not of very great value to the propagation and upbuilding of the cult and Paul makes an effort to regulate its excesses and places a greater stress upon the purposeful and intelligible message of the prophet. This may have been the reason for his placing tongues near the end of his list of gifts. Partly perhaps through Paul's influence and partly because of its highly emotional features this practice soon fell into disuse and disappeared almost entirely in the course of the second century.[120]

It became necessary, in view of the fact that the speaking in tongues was unintelligible, that the utterances be interpreted if others wished to know their meaning. And this too was regarded as a gift of the Spirit, for it was impossible for any but a Spirit-possessed man to understand and judge spiritual things, and this was a task that required more than human knowledge. This power of interpretation was a rare gift and

[117] Quis Rer. Div. Her., 69.

[118] I Cor. 14:18; II Thes. 2:2. In the latter passage Paul doubtless refers to his use of tongues in the Thessalonian church.

[119] I Cor. 14:1, 37. But in I Cor. 2:15; 3:1 he uses πνευματικός in a more general sense.

[120] The Montanists seem to have revived the practice. Irenaeus (Haer. V, 6, 1) knows of the custom in the Church but perhaps only as a matter of past history. It is thought that since the author of Acts confuses the glossolalia with speaking in foreign languages (2:6), the practice had disappeared by his time, but the fact that in other places he records the phenomenon in the usual way (10:46; 19:6) would indicate that he knew what the practice was, though it may have been also merely from literary sources. The change in the Pentecostal tongue-speaking was made not because of the author's ignorance but because he wanted to make the Pentecostal experience analogous to the occasion of the giving of the Law at Sinai when, according to a midrash (Philo, De Decal., 11; Septen., 22), all the nations of the world heard God's voice in their own language. The reference to tongues in Mark 16:17 would point to the fact that this gift was still in use in the Church when the Marcan appendix was added. For descriptions of glossolalia see Lake, Earlier Epis. of Paul, pp. 242 ff.; Weinel, Die Wirkungen u.s.w., pp. 72 ff.; and Mosiman, Das Zungenreden. Reasons for regarding the Pentecostal experience as glossolalia will be found in Schmiedel, Encyc. Bib., Art., "Spiritual Gifts," secs. 9 and 10.

had to have a spiritual cause to account for its existence. How this interpretation was done we do not know. In some instances the tongue-speaker became his own interpreter,[121] just as the Apocalyptic seer related or wrote down his visions after he had recovered from his ecstatic state. But in other cases there were men who interpreted the utterances of others,[122] and it is difficult to understand how this could have been done unless there were in use certain formulae and codes of ejaculations known to certain members of the group, or unless the interpreter could by sympathetic telepathy read the emotions and thoughts of the tongue-speaker from the gestures and sounds which he made. It is possible that the interpreter himself was a tongue-speaker and could tell from experience what the utterances of his fellow-ecstatic signified.

The above phenomena were the chief ones that characterized the pneumatic life of the early Christian groups of believers, and they must have been a common feature of the religious activities and practices in the various communities where the new religion had taken root. They were a part not only of the experience of the Gentile believers among whom they must have been particularly prevalent, but of the Jewish Christians as well, and especially of the Hellenistic Christians who were more or less acquainted and in touch with Gentile notions of spirits and demons. And they likewise constituted a feature in the life not only of the Pauline churches but so far as we know of all the other Christian circles and groups. And since, as we have seen, they contain so many elements derived from or similar to the ordinary notions of Spirit-activity, they have been commonly termed the popular conceptions of the Spirit, as distinguished from the mystical and more speculative ideas such as we find in the Pauline and Johannine writings.

Paul had a prominent mystical strain in his character. This was due in part no doubt to his native or innate temper of mind, but in part also, and perhaps chiefly, to his training and environment. For the Jews as a rule were not mystics, and Paul must have acquired his mystical tendencies more from his Gentile contacts than from heredity. As a young man he lived in the midst of a civilization that was shot through with ideas and beliefs concerning the mystical union of man with the Deity. Cilicia was located just between Phrygia, the center of the Cybele-Attis cult, and Syria, the home of the worship of Adonis; and the influence of these cults must have been felt in Tarsus in his day. The worship of Mithras, according to Plutarch, was in Tarsus as early

[121] I Cor. 14:13.
[122] I Cor. 12:10; 14:26.

as 63 B. C.[123] And Paul may very well have become acquainted even in his youth with the type of thought represented in the so-called "Mithrasliturgy" and the Hermetic Corpus, writings which were highly mystical and saturated with the ideas of rebirth and deification.[124] It was no doubt this Oriental mysticism that formed the background for his peculiar conception of the indwelling Spirit.[125]

But whatever conception we may have as to the relation of this background to Paul's notion of the Spirit, we dare not forget that the immediate source of his idea of the Spirit comes from his Christian experience. The real roots of his conception are to be found in his own experience; the terminology by which he interpreted and expressed this experience to others was derived from the usages of the day, terms of expression with which not only his readers but he himself must have been familiar. And it is to be presumed that since he did not define these terms to his readers, he must have expected them to convey to their minds the same ideas and connotations as they conveyed to his. Hence he would not think of his experience as being essentially different from that of his readers, or different from experiences with which his readers at least were acquainted. It is evident that when he uses such terms as "new creature," "to be in the Spirit," etc., he takes for granted that his readers understand without explanation what these terms signify. Since they were chiefly Gentiles to whom he wrote, and would put into these terms such connotations as were currently held, there is therefore no reason for thinking that Paul used them with a sense that differed very much from current usage among the Gentiles.[126]

We should deal here with the experience which lay at the bottom of Paul's idea of the indwelling Spirit. His consciousness of the presence of the Spirit in his life began of course with his Christian life. And

[123] Plut., Pompey, 24.

[124] See Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie, esp. p. 14 f.; and Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 15 ff.

[125] Of course it should be stated that this view has not yet received universal acceptance, as can be seen for instance in the discussion which Schweitzer gives of the subject in his Paul and His Interpreters, ch. 7. See also on this subject Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp. 148 ff.

[126] It is contended by some scholars that Paul's mysticism differed from the current mystical notions especially on two points: (1) his mysticism is a Christ-mysticism, not a God-mysticism, and (2) the idea of rebirth is almost absent in his writings. See especially Schweitzer, *op. cit.* As for these distinctions we might suggest that perhaps Paul's Jewish aversion to deification led him to modify his mysticism somewhat and to hesitate in using the word, rebirth or regeneration; and yet no matter whether his mysticism contemplated only a union with a heavenly being instead of with God

his Christian life began with an experience of such a nature as to make him feel that a great inner transformation and change had taken place. In fact, it was a change that transformed him from a persecutor of the Christians to an advocate of their contentions.[127] The hate which he had had toward them was now replaced by love for them and loyalty to the Lord whom they served and whom he had persecuted. This change was so marked, it was something so inexplicable and so contrary to normal and natural processes, that it could have none but a supernatural origin and cause. At once Paul felt that a new entity had come into his life and an old entity had gone out. What was it? Doubtless Paul immediately thought of a spiritual being as the only agent who could effect such a change of character, and since the result of the change was the establishing in his heart of a favorable disposition toward the Christians and their Lord, he must have identified at once this spirit with the Spirit of Christ, the heavenly being whom the Christians regarded as Lord of spirits. "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me."[128]

It should be noted also that this change which had come into Paul's life was a permanent one. He did not love the Christians one day and hate them the next. Neither was his sense of loyalty and devotion to his heavenly Lord a spasmodic affair. So also his attitude toward sin and unrighteousness had become one of permanent hostility, and he was conscious of an abiding power in his life that aided and strengthened his will in the doing of good. It was this experience of Paul's that led him to conceive of the Spirit, which was the cause of this change, as an abiding and permanent influence in his life, and hence in the life of every believer. According to the popular conceptions of the Spirit, its operation was confined to special occasions as when the believers were stirred by some great emotional excitement,[129] or when they were called upon to preach or proclaim the will of God,[130] or when they had to bear testimony to their faith in the face of persecution,[131] or when

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Himself, the difference is essentially a very slight one, the idea of a mystical union being at any rate present in his mind; and no matter whether he failed to use the word regeneration, there is fundamentally very little difference between the idea of being born again, and of becoming a new creature.

[127] Gal. 1:23.

[128] Gal. 2:20.

[129] Acts 2:1 ff.; I Cor. 14:2, 14; *et al.*

[130] Acts 4:31.

[131] Mark 13:11; Acts 4:8 ff.

they prophesied and saw visions and revelations,[132] or when they were called upon to undertake new work or to make a departure in the plans of their work.[133] The Spirit, it was thought, was active mainly at times of high emotional tension, at times of crises in the lives of individuals or in the work of the Church, and at times when special divine guidance was needed by the leaders in the promulgation of the new religion. The operation of the Spirit was occasional and temporary because the experiences which they ascribed to pneumatic influence were also of that character. But Paul, while recognizing these special and occasional activities of the Spirit because he too had times of special elation and ecstasy, nevertheless considered the Spirit as an abiding and permanent factor in his own and every believer's life simply because he regarded the permanent transformation of character that attended the believer's entrance upon and walk in the Christian life as the work of the Spirit also. And this conception arose out of his own experience.

And it is also out of his experience that his ethical conception of the Spirit grew. When once he had confessed faith in Jesus as a heavenly being, Lord of spirits and master of all the evil forces to which men were subjected, and had a consciousness as the result of the change in his life of the presence of the Spirit of this heavenly being in his heart, a great sense of victory over sin and evil must have come to him. Sin previously had dominated his being, leading him to do what he felt he should not, and preventing him from doing what he should.[134] But now he felt that he was freed from this bondage by the Spirit that dwelt within him and he was able by the help of this new increment in his life to conquer the evil propensities of his mortal body.[135] Such a victory over sin and fear and the lusts of the flesh was a miraculous event, something inexplicable from a human standpoint, something that could only be explained by postulating the agency and activity of Deity. Paul had indeed made strenuous efforts to lead a righteous life before he became a Christian but he had failed. The present victory was due not to his normal human powers but to the work of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in him. And it was for this reason that Paul ascribed all that was good in him to the Spirit. Since he had a piece of the Deity in him, so to speak, dominating his will and controlling his actions, his conduct could be none other than the result of the Spirit's working in

[132] Acts 11:28; II Cor. 12:1; Rev. 4:2.
[133] Acts 10:19; 13:2; 16:6 ff.
[134] Rom. 7:15 ff.
[135] Rom. 8; Gal. 5:16 ff.

him. All the graces and virtues and actions of life he therefore reckoned among the products of this spiritual indwelling. "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control."[136] It was this ethicizing of the conception of the Spirit which we owe particularly to the work of Paul, and it doubtless grew out of his experience as a Christian.

But this is not the last word to be said with regard to Paul's conception of the Spirit. He used terms in speaking of the Spirit and of his experience which were not in common use among the Jews and these should here receive some consideration.

He first of all describes his conversion as a revelation of God's Son in or to him.[137] Paul's idea of revelation may perhaps be gleaned from the description of his experience in II Cor. 12:1 ff. Of course, it is clear that the Jews were familiar with the ordinary form of revelation in which either an angel or spirit came down from heaven or the soul ascended to heaven, but they seem to have lacked the idea of a transformation of character taking place through a revelation. They ordinarily thought of revelation simply as a means of obtaining supernatural knowledge. But with Paul the idea of a change of life seems to be present in his notion of revelation. And this reminds one at once of the description given of the transformation of Thot in a Hermetic document of about the first century A. D., in which Hermes tells Thot, his son, of his own regeneration by a divine revelation to his heart; he had had an inner immaterial vision and had passed through his own body into an immortal body. As he relates his experience to his son, the latter's body too is transformed and he is set free from the twelve evil propensities. Furthermore he is able by divine energy to have spiritual visions and he feels himself to be in harmony with all the elements. Hermes then teaches him a hymn of praise, in which he was to say: "My spirit is illumined. . . . To Thee, O God, author of my new creation, I, Thot, offer spiritual sacrifices. O God and Father, thou art the Lord; thou are the Spirit (*νοῦς*). Accept from me the spiritual things which thou desirest."[138] Here we have a striking example of a rebirth, a transformation of character through revelation, in which the subject is freed from the evil

[136] Gal. 5:22 ff.

[137] Gal. 1:16.

[138] See Reitzenstein, Poim., pp. 339-48; Die Hellen. Myster., p. 33; and Jacoby, Die Antik. Myster., pp. 33, 34. Note also the instance given by Reitzenstein (Die Hellen. Myster., p. 141) of the alchemist Zosimus who was renewed by a priest in his vision, so that he became *πνεῦμα*.

propensities of the flesh; and the similarity of this conception to Paul's experience no one could very well be so bold as to deny, though there may be no direct relation between the two.

Again Paul uses such expressions as to be in Christ, to be in the Spirit, Christ in us, or the Spirit in us, to describe what he regards as the Christians' experience. These terms are practically synonymous, the ones in which the name of Christ is used having perhaps a less abstract but a more personal content than those in which the Spirit is mentioned. In all of them the idea of a union or fusion of the human and divine is present, and Paul here evinces a mysticism that separates him from his Jewish contemporaries and indicates an acquaintance with a type of thought that was widely current in his day outside of Jewish circles. It was the type of thought represented by the mystery religions and the Hermetic cults, and its chief elements were the ideas of union with the Deity, or deification, and of the hope of immortality. The usual term employed to express the union with the Deity was ἔνθεος, and to become ἔνθεος was to attain immortality.[139] The worshippers of Dionysos were thought to enter into union with the god,[140] and the Orphic worshippers believed that they actually became gods. Deification was promised to the devotee of Osiris in this way: "Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be god instead of mortal."[141] We might also quote the Hermetic Corpus in illustration of this same thought: "This is the blessed end for those who have attained knowledge, to be deified."[142] The well-known experience of Lucius, recorded by Apuleius, is of a similar character; his mystic initiation brings to him an assurance of union with Isis, causing his heart to go out in a prayer of great beauty and devotion.[143] The worshipper of Attis who emasculated himself thought that thereby he became Attis and would rise with the god from the dead.

It is in the light of these ideas that one has to interpret Paul's use of the terms, to be in Christ and to be in the Spirit. Of course, Paul

[139] Soph., Oed. Col., 607.

[140] Aeschines, Soc., 2, 23: αἱ βάκχαι ὅταν ἔνθεοι γενῶνται; Plato, Phaed., 253A; ἔνθεοι λαμβάνουσι τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα (τοῦ θεοῦ) καθόσον δυνατὸν θεοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ μετάσχειν. See also Aristot., Prob., 30, 2: ἔνθεοι μάντεις; and Plut., Plac. Phil., 5, 1, 1: μαντικὴ κατὰ τὸ ἔνθεον ὅπερ ἐστιν ἐνθεαστικόν.

[141] Egyptian Book of the Dead, 125. See also Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 556, 660 ff.

[142] I, sec. 26.

[143] Apuleius, Metamor., XI, 23-25.

never says outright that he is Christ, much less as a Jew would he claim deification; yet there can be no doubt but that he approaches the conceptions of the mysteries and believes that the Christian is mystically united with his Lord. It is a matter of conviction with Paul that as a result of his faith in Christ he is united with him and a new element or increment of a divine nature has been added to his personality. He is now no ordinary man, a ψυχικός with only a living soul within him; he has in addition a πνεῦμα, an entity which has come to him from without and which has become the dominating principle of his life. He is now a πνευματικός, and he lives on a higher plane and in a less material atmosphere than the one who has only a ψυχή. In reality he believed that it was Christ himself who now dwelt in his body and spoke through him.[144] The difference between this conception and that of ἔνθεος is certainly not very great.

Again Paul uses the idea of sonship to designate the change that had come into his life. And although he does not use the word rebirth or regeneration, the expressions, "sons of God" and "children of God," signify practically that very thing.[145] And this idea too is not a Jewish conception,[146] but a notion that prevailed among the mystical cults. The Jews had the idea of becoming like a child,[147] but this was quite a different thing from the mystical notion of a spiritual rebirth. Among the Attis and Mithras worshippers this conception was particularly emphasized. The blood baptism in the Taurobolium was believed so to purify the worshipper that he was reborn; his old life was buried, as it were, and he was raised to a newness of life.[148] And various Roman

[144] Gal. 2:20; II Cor. 13:3.

[145] Rom. 8:14, 16; Gal. 3:23 ff; 4:6.

[146] It might be objected that Paul does not have in mind a rebirth but simply sonship by adoption. And it is true that this is the terminology used by him in both the passages quoted above (Rom. 8:14, 16; Gal. 3:23 ff.; 4:6), and one might well think that he is here dealing with an idea familiar to Jews as well as to Gentiles. He is evidently thinking of the man who does not have the Spirit as a slave who is under bondage to sin and fear, but who by the attainment of the Spirit gains freedom and adoption as God's child. But when we inquire as to how Paul thought that this freedom from sin and fear was obtained, we realize that here he departs from the Jewish conception. It is by a process of dying with Christ and being raised again unto newness of life in his resurrection. It is this which delivers a man from bondage and wins him his sonship (Rom. 6:1-11; 7:7 ff.; 8:1-17; Gal. 3:26, 27). This is the mystical element in the idea of sonship that unites Paul with the Gentile thought-world and compels the conclusion that his conception of sonship differed very little from the idea of regeneration.

[147] Matthew 18:3 ff.; Mark 10:15; Luke 18:17.

[148] Prudentius, Peristeph., X, 1011 ff.; Cumont, Orien. Rel., pp. 58 ff.

inscriptions of the Cybele and Mithras cults describe the "baptized" as *in aeternum renatus*.[149] In Apuleius we find the same notion ascribed to the Isis cult: "For," says the highpriest of the Isis cult, "the portals of the nether world and the guardianship of salvation are placed in the hand of the goddess and the initiation itself is solemnized as the symbol of a voluntary death and a salvation given in answer to prayer, for the goddess is wont to choose such as, having fulfilled a course of life, stand at the very threshold of the departing light, to whom nevertheless the great mysteries of religion can be safely entrusted; and after they have been by her providence in a sense born again, she places them again on the course of a new life in salvation."[150] In the so-called Mithrasliturgy the idea of rebirth occurs quite frequently. A significant passage is: "If it seems good to you,"—the worshipper is addressing the Deity,— "permit me, now held down by my lower nature, to be reborn to immortality, . . . that I may become mentally reborn, that I may become initiated, that the Holy Spirit may breathe in me."[151]

Examples like the above might be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show that in certain circles at least the idea of a rebirth, of becoming a new creature, by union with Deity was very familiar in Paul's day. The belief centered in the idea that a man by symbolically passing through the dying and rising experiences of the Deity to whom he was united, was refashioned and became a creature of immortality. It seems clear that when Paul writes to the Romans that "as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life, for if we have become united with Him in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection," etc.,[152] he is approaching very nearly the idea of a spiritual regeneration or rebirth unto immortality, which was such a prominent belief in the mystic cults. And here again we would not claim for Paul a direct dependence upon the literature cited above, nor can the opposite of course, viz., the derivation of the idea of rebirth in the mystery cults from Paul, be proved. What we do have to admit however is that Paul in giving expression to his experience used the terms that were current

[149] Dill, Rom. Soc., p. 547, n. 4.

[150] Metamor., XI, 21.

[151] Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie, p. 4. A noteworthy passage also occurs on p. 14. Reitzenstein, Die Hellen. Myster., pp. 113, 114, gives another instance where the idea of regeneration is present.

[152] Rom. 6:1-11.

in his day and were generally employed to describe an experience such as he had.

It might also be pointed out that in Paul's use of the term, "a new creature," he is expressing an idea that approaches the notion of a rebirth. At least we are safe in saying that the conception of a transformation of being and character is present in the expression.[153] But perhaps we should rather regard this term as synonymous with the expression, "the new man," and if so, then its relation to the imagery of a heavenly garment clothing the believer is closer than to the idea of rebirth. For Paul speaks of putting on Christ, or putting on the new man as if the believer could clothe himself in this spiritual garb,[154] or as if he could put on the image of the Lord Jesus.[155] This figure of speech reminds one of the masks of the god which the devotees of the Mithras cult wore over their faces, thinking that thus they could be identified with the Deity and become united with him. The kings and priests of Egypt, we are told, wore beast masks when they sacrificed.[156] This in fact was a custom among most of the primitive cults, though by the time of Paul it had become more or less spiritualized.[157] The idea of the righteous, who are to be raised from the dead and clothed with garments of glory, is found in Jewish literature,[158] and this notion corresponds to the idea, which Cumont points out as a feature of the Oriental religions, of heavenly garments which purified souls receive in their ascent to heaven.[159] But Paul was thinking of the present mortal state when he spoke of putting on the new man, and so had perhaps a transformation of the body in mind when he used the expression. The body was in many circles regarded as a garment for the soul, and with Paul the old man was identified with the body of flesh.[160] The man who had the Spirit had a

[153] II Cor. 5:15-17 clearly indicates such a change, and the transformation takes place through a mystical union with Christ. Cf. also Gal. 6:15; Eph. 2:1-10; 4:24; Col. 3:10. This union was also the cause for the effecting of a change in the Jews and Gentiles so that they now are no longer two bodies but one (Eph. 2:15). And Paul conceives of the bond between Christ and the Church as being quite similar to a mystical union (I Cor. 10:16; Col. 1:18, 24; 2:19).

[154] Rom. 13:14; Gal. 3:27; Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10, 12. Cf. also II Cor. 5:11 ff.

[155] Notice the use of "image" in I Cor. 15:49. Cf. Rom. 8:29 and Col. 3:10.

[156] Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, II, 130, 284, and Moret, Caractere religieux de la monarchie Egyptienne.

[157] Wundt, Elem. d. Völkerpsych., pp. 260 ff. On the use of masks by the Greeks for scaring away the Keres, see Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 188.

[158] Eth. En. 62:15.

[159] Les Religions Orientales, pp. 235 f., 391.

[160] Eph. 4:22.

germ within him that would transmute the essence of his σῶμα ψυχικόν, or old man, and change it into a σῶμα πνευματικόν. This process was begun in this life but would be completed at the resurrection. The inner man, the ἔσωθεν ἄνθρωπος, was the nucleus which was to be clothed over by the σῶμα πνευματικόν.[161] Putting on the new man or putting on Christ implied therefore a change not only of the inner man, but of the body as well; it meant the clothing of the inner man with a spiritual body.[162] And this change it should be noticed meant to Paul practically the same thing as the acquiring of divine sonship.[163]

As for Paul's ethical view of the Spirit it might be said that he here also shows that he was a man of his time, for as we have already observed, the time was characterized by a great ethical movement, and the ethicizing of the conception of the Spirit was taking place among both Jews and Greeks. The ordinary Jewish conception of the Spirit placed stress upon its spectacular manifestations of power, and yet their idea of the Spirit that should possess the Messiah was one of ethical content.[164] The Stoic ethics too indicates how the whole moral life was connected with the Spirit. The whole inner life of man was regarded as being divine. And by some Stoics the demons came to be thought of not as external powers, but as a kind of ideal personality dwelling permanently within the soul.[165] The use of the word, ὅσιος to describe the initiated in the mysteries must have meant more than merely the proper performance of a ritual; it surely had some ethical significance.[166] It is natural that since there was an ethicizing of the conception of Deity and of spiritual beings, the emphasis should come to be placed more upon the moral quality of Deity and Spirit than upon their power. And it is just on this point that Paul shows that he is in advance of the popular ideas of his day, for although he does not discard the idea of power, he does place stress upon the Spirit's activity in the moral life.

[161] See Reitzenstein, Die Hellen. Myster., pp. 177-8 for similar ideas among the mysteries. With them this change of body for spirit of course involved the idea of a transmutation of essence.

[162] Cf. Phil. 3:21; Rom. 8:23; I Cor. 15:44; II Cor. 4:16; 5:4, 5.

[163] Cf. Gal. 3:26 and 3:27.

[164] Is. 11:1-5; Eth. En. 62:2.

[165] Mar. Aur., V, 10, 27; VII, 17; Epic., I, 14, sec. 12. On the relation between Stoicism and Paul see Pfleiderer, Prim. Xty, Vol. I, ch. 3. On the ethical character and influence of the Greek religion see the estimate given by Farnell in his Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, Lect. 6.

[166] Wobbermin, Religionsgeschichtliche Studien, pp. 36 ff.

Now if in his popular conceptions of the Spirit Paul was at one with the notions of the Christians of the early Church and manifested a relationship both with Jewish and Gentile thought, in his mystical conception of the Spirit, and therefore in his notion of the Spirit as a permanent and moral influence in life he differed from the primitive Christian ideas and allied himself more with the thought-world of the Oriental religions, or of those Hellenists who had come under the influence of this mysticism.[167] Of course, this conception had its roots in his experience, but the only way in which he could interpret this experience was in the psychological thought-forms which were used in his day and which he had learned in his training and travel.

The Johannine conception of the Spirit's activity in the believer was in many ways similar to that of Paul's. Its operation was confined to the Christian group of believers,[168] and it formed the mystical bond between them and the Deity. The possession of the Spirit was conceived of as a permanent and abiding entity dwelling in the soul, and its ethical significance was put in the foreground. If a man did not love his brethren and was not obedient to the will of God, he lacked the union with the Logos or with God which the Spirit effected. In general the idea of the Spirit as the power of Christ active in the Christian life and pervading it throughout is as much a Johannine as a Pauline notion. But on the other hand there is also a difference between their conceptions. Paul's experience of the Spirit is still largely emotional; in John the intellectual is more prominent. In Paul the idea of power still lingers; in John the idea of knowledge is uppermost.[169] In Paul the notion of rebirth, though present, is yet not definitely expressed; in John the term is openly used and the idea is a constant theme.[170] In general we see in John an advance toward the realm of speculation and metaphysics.

According to John the Spirit was an effluence from the heavenly Christ, or his representative upon earth, sent after he had left the world to continue the work which he had begun. He was to be the teacher of

[167] On the influence of the mysteries on Paul see Gardner, Religious Experience of St. Paul, chs. 4 & 5. See also the bibliography given by Schweitzer in his Paul and His Interpreters at the beginning of ch. 7.

[168] John 14:15 f.

[169] The fact that John fails to mention a single case of demon-exorcism is significant in this connection.

[170] A summary of the similarities and divergences between the Pauline and Johannine conceptions will be found in Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp. 217 ff.

the disciples, bringing to their remembrance the things which Jesus had said and done while upon earth,[171] guiding them into all truth,[172] and perfecting in them the divine knowledge which the Logos had come into the world to reveal. The Spirit would be active as a witness, doubtless using the disciples as his instruments, and would justify the life of Jesus before the world against all unbelief and opposition.[173] He would furthermore aid the disciples by becoming a comforter to them in time of persecution, or at times when the bearing of testimony was difficult.[174] He is spoken of in personal terms, such words as teaching, witnessing, convincing, guiding, hearing, judging, etc., being employed; and one is led to believe that the author had a more hypostatized conception of the Spirit than Paul. Yet one could hardly say that John believed in a Trinity. The Spirit is thought of as being like a wind, or a breath, or an influence.[175] He is either an emanation of divine substance from the risen Christ or his double. He has come from heaven to direct the activity and knowledge of the Christian cult in the place of the departed Logos.

How the Spirit was obtained according to the conception of John will be dealt with later on. As for the genetic relations of the Johannine conceptions, suffice it to say here that they like Paul's find their method of expression in the mysticism of the age, and their variations from Paul's notions are due chiefly to the difference in the time and place in which the authors lived.

As for the conceptions of the Spirit in the less important books of the New Testament, there is nothing very distinctive. It might be noted that I Peter reveals perhaps some Pauline influence. The Spirit is conceived of as sanctifying power and as a permanent possession.[176] And this is likewise the conception of the author of Hebrews, for when he speaks of the new covenant of grace written on the hearts of men,[177] he has in mind a permanent spiritual state. And when he refers to the

[171] John 14:26. This was doubtless the way in which the author of the fourth Gospel explained or authorized the growing tradition of the Church regarding Jesus' life.

[172] John 16:13; 14:17; 15:26.

[173] John 16:8-11.

[174] John 15:26, 27.

[175] John 3:8; 20:22.

[176] I Pet. 1:2; 3:15; 4:14.

[177] Heb. 10:15 ff.

possibility of a man losing possession of the Spirit, he implies by this very admission that ordinarily this possession was of a permanent nature.[178]

[178] Heb. 6:4-6.

CHAPTER 4

THE BELIEVER AS PNEUMATIKOS: MEANS OF ACQUIRING THE SPIRIT

We have already noticed that among primitive peoples certain external forms of emotional stimulation were used to produce the physical conditions which were thought to reveal the presence and activity of a spirit or demon, such as, for example, the performance of certain dances or bodily movements, the eating and drinking of certain drugs, the coming into contact with a person or thing that was spirit-possessed, etc. Certain cases in which the abnormal features of the phenomena were due to defective physical and mental conditions such as sickness and insanity, of course, did not need any external stimulus. And the same might be said with regard to the possession of dream spirits, though it came to be the custom to regard sleeping in a temple, particularly in the temple of a healing-god, as being especially conducive to the production of dreams. But so far as the acquiring of oracular spirits was concerned, the application of some external stimulus was quite early conceived of as being a necessity.

Among the Jews the inspiration or raving of the early prophets was brought on chiefly through bodily movements or playing of musical instruments.[1] Among the Greeks it was aroused by the eating of drugs and herbs and by the inhalation of gases. The Dionysiac worshipper ate the raw flesh of the bull that was offered as a victim of sacrifice, and thus became inspired. The devotee of the mysteries went through the performance of certain ritual acts: the baptism or lustration of the body, the sacrifice of a pig, the sight of a sacred drama in which the myth of the cult was either pictorially represented or acted out on the stage, and the participation in a sacred meal.[2]

This was perhaps the state of affairs when the ethical movement arose, and placing the stress upon the inner life became the means whereby not merely the external observance of a rite, but the production of a certain emotional and intellectual frame of mind, or the possession of certain moral and mental qualifications, came to be thought of as necessary if one wished to enter into relation with a spirit or god.

[1] I Sam 10:5 ff.; II Sam 6:16, 21.

[2] See bibliography on the mystery cults, or religions of redemption as they are sometimes called, in Case, Evolution of Early Xty, p. 287, n. 1.

Isaiah considered himself unfit to be a prophet because of his "unclean lips."[3] The mysteries refused to admit persons who were openly immoral.[4] Plutarch believed that the demons held communion with or took possession of only such as were cultured.[5] According to the Hermetic Corpus the inspired state was secured through divine knowledge or revelation, that is, by the speaking of a message or word to the one seeking inspiration or union with the Deity.[6] This same idea prevailed also among the Jews, for the acquiring of Wisdom or the Spirit was a result of a knowledge of the divine Word.[7]

When the Christian movement began, the preaching of the Gospel or the revelation of the good news of the coming Messiah, must have been the chief means of producing ecstatic and pneumatic conditions. It was a part of primitive belief that the uttered word of an inspired person had peculiar power. The word of the mantis had the power of bringing to fulfillment the prophecies which he uttered regarding the future.[8] A word from the lips of Jesus was sufficient to heal the sick. And the words of a prophet had the power of influencing others and effecting a change in their lives.[9] It was by the hearing of faith, that is, by the preaching of the word that the Galatians had received their first taste of spiritual endowment.[10] The book of Acts also gives repeated instances of ecstatic conditions following the preaching of the Christian message, but it should be noted that in only one case is the possession of the Spirit represented as taking place before the rite of baptism was performed.[11] The Gnostics seem to have been especially familiar with the idea of inspiration through a divine message or word; Hermes was called the Word of God and could, as we have seen, inspire

[3] Is. 6:5.

[4] The Emperor Nero was one who was evidently regarded as morally unfit to belong to the Eleusinian mysteries (Suet. Nero, 34).

[5] Disc. Con. Soc. Dem., 21 & 22.

[6] The case of Thot cited above (ch. 3, p. 72) is an instance in which the inspired state is produced by the relation of another's spiritual experience.

[7] See citations above in ch. 2, n. 87.

[8] Halliday, Gr. Divin., ch. 4. Cf. also Martyrdom of Polycarp, 16.

[9] I Cor. 14:3, 25, 30 f.

[10] Gal. 3:2. Cf. also Rom. 10:14, 17; Eph. 1:13; I Cor. 2:4, 5; 4:15; and I Thess. 2:13.

[11] Acts 10:44; 11:15. This was however no doubt specially designed by the author of Acts in order to show that the testimony of the Spirit was necessary to get Peter and the Jewish church to sanction the Gentile mission. Of course, Peter would not baptize a Gentile before he had evidence that the latter was worthy of Spirit-possession.

others by his utterances.[12] So when John represents the words of Jesus as being spirit and life, he is giving expression to a thought that was current in circles such as the Gnostics,[13] and a thought that reveals an independence from sacramental means in obtaining possession of the Spirit that must have characterized certain groups of believers after speculation began to supplant ritual.

It is difficult to tell just how early the Christians made use of sacraments as an instrument in the production of ecstatic states. Heitmüller is of the opinion that Christian baptism had its roots in the popular Jewish customs of washings and purifications, in the baptism of proselytes, and in the practice of John the Baptist and his followers, and that it arose as a cult practice very early in the history of the Christian movement, perhaps immediately after the death of Jesus.[14] The Lord's Supper and the laying on of hands too may very well have been observed from the beginning of the movement. These observances then must have been a part of the practices of the earliest group of Jewish Christians, but it is doubtful whether they attained any marked sacramental character until they were adopted by the Gentile Christians among whom they acquired a more sacramental and mystical significance.

Among the Jewish Christians baptism was doubtless used as a form of initiation into the cult, but it was more than a mere form. It consisted evidently of two acts: the lustration of the body and the naming of the name of Jesus over the initiate, and both of these ritual acts had more than a symbolic significance. The water used in immersion was regarded as possessing peculiar divine power, and hence could drive away the demons or evil spirits who were responsible for sins.[15] Especially did living or running water possess such strength or virtue. So it was thought that when a man was baptized, these demonic forces were driven away and he became spiritually clean; in other words, his

[12] Justin, Apol., I, 22.

[13] John 6:63. The preaching of Jesus is said to have had cleansing and sanctifying power (John 15:3; 17:17).

[14] Heitmüller, Taufe u. Abendmal im Urchristentum, pp. 5 ff.

[15] It should be remarked here that the Jews like the Gentiles regarded sins as the work of evil spirits. Already in O. T. times the demonic cause of sin is affirmed as we see from such passages as Hos. 4:12; 5:4; Num. 5:14, 30; I Ki. 22:20 ff.; Zach. 13:2; Is. 29:10; 19:14, where adultery, jealousy, lying, uncleanness, lethargy, and blindness are ascribed to such an origin. The case of Naaman is an illustration of the Jewish conception of the divine potency of water (II Ki. 5:1 ff.). For Gentile ideas regarding this same belief see Halliday, Gr. Divin., ch. 7.

sins were washed away.[16] The uncleanness and impurity which had accrued through contact with evil demons was thus gotten rid of, fellowship with God was re-established, and forgiveness of sin was obtained.

But the baptismal rite also included the use of the name of Jesus.[17] And this practice had its roots too in primitive thought, for it was quite generally believed that if a man used the name of a deity, he could not only acquire power over the deity himself, but could exercise the divine power, which the possession and use of the deity's name secured him, over other human and spiritual beings. The use of the name of Jesus in baptism had then an exorcising function, and supposedly effected the driving of evil spirits either out of the water that was used for baptizing, or more probably out of the initiate who was being baptized. Baptism thus gave the initiate protection and salvation from the dominance of Satan and the demons over his life.[18]

In the Gentile churches the rite of baptism must have meant also more than a mere form of initiation. And in addition to the Jewish conception of the rite, which the Gentile Christians no doubt adopted, a mystical element entered into the practice which tended to make the rite more sacramental.[19] This element doubtless came in as an influence from the mystery religions, in which rites of purification by water or blood were quite common. The object of these rites was not simply to remove ceremonial impurity, but to create a powerful emotional impression upon the initiate, and to serve as a symbolic representation of the dying and rising experiences of the deity, enabling men who by baptism became partakers of the deity's experiences to share in his immortal life. So these sacred ablutions became the means not only of getting rid of the baleful influence of demons, but of imparting new life. In the initiatory ceremonies of the mysteries of Eleusis, Isis, and Mithras, the baptism not only washed away sin, but served as a symbol of the resurrection and wrought a process of regeneration in the soul of the initiate.[20] The result of this rite was a new birth. The initiate passed symbolically into the land of death and returned a new creature to the light.[21] In the so-called Mithrasliturgy is the significant passage: "Hail, to

[16] See Clem. Hom., XI, 22 ff.

[17] Acts 2:38 *et al.*

[18] On this interpretation of baptism in the early Christian community see Heitmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.

[19] See particularly Tertullian, De Baptismo, ch. 5, and Pfleiderer, Early Christian Conception of Christ, pp. 117 ff.

[20] Tertullian, *op. cit.*; and De Praescrip. Haer., ch. 40.

[21] Apuleius, Metam. XI, 21, 23.

Thee, Lord of Water, Founder of the Earth, Ruler of the Spirit! Born again I expire, in that I am being exalted, and as I am exalted I die; born with the birth which begets life I am delivered to death and go the way, as thou hast instituted, as thou hast ordained and constituted the sacrament."[22] And the blood-baptism of the Attis and Mithras cults symbolized this same process of death and resurrection to newness of life. In all of these cults, however, it should be remembered that it was not baptism as such that imparted a renewed life, but the union with the deity which the worshipper sustained and in virtue of which he derived the right and privilege of participating in the deity's experience and life. Baptism was merely a means of effecting a union with the deity.

When we turn to Paul's conception of baptism, we find that he approaches this mystical and sacramental idea. In I Cor. 6:11 he says: "And such were some of you; but ye were *washed*, but ye were *sanctified*, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God." And what he here says of the sanctification of the individual, he also says in Eph. 5:26 of the Church as a whole: "And (Christ) gave himself up for it (the Church) that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word." In both of these passages baptism is regarded as effecting a mystical purification, though in the latter the preaching of the Christian message is connected with baptism. Again, the reference which Paul makes to baptism in Rom. 6:1ff. is stated in terms familiar to the mysteries and is saturated with the idea of a participation on the part of the initiate in the death and resurrection of the dying and rising god, Christ. Baptism was like a burial in which the body of sin or the old man was put away by the immersion in water, while the rising out of the water was like a resurrection to new life.[23] Sin, in the mind of Paul, especially according to the sixth to the eighth chapters of Romans, was conceived of as a personal being inhabiting the human body and holding men in subjection and bondage to itself.[24] The presence of this being in the body resulted in sickness and death.[25] But by baptism this element in a man's natural constitution was killed and a new element was added to

[22] Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, pp. 14, 166.

[23] Cf. also Col. 2:12.

[24] See especially Rom. 6:7, 16-23; 7:8 ff.; 8:3. Also Gal. 3:22; and Rom. 3:9. For a discussion of this subject see Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 120 ff.

[25] I Cor. 11:30; Rom. 6:23 *et al.*

his life whereby he was made alive. This element was the heavenly being Christ, or his Spirit.[26]

Doubt has been expressed as to whether Paul really believed that an external rite such as baptism could effect an inner change. It must be admitted that faith was to Paul the necessary condition of salvation, and that according to his opinion revelation could be obtained directly from God. And it seems that his view of baptism was in flat contradiction to his attitude toward the Jewish ceremonial law. If there is really a contradiction here,[27] we can do no more than simply to acknowledge it; Paul was too practical a man to be consistent in all points. But we should also remember that Paul was living in a time of transition, when Christianity was passing over from Judaism to the Greek world; and it should naturally be expected that if he himself was not a sacramentarian, he at least must have been affected by the magical and sacramental ideas of the people to whom he ministered.[28]

After the time of Paul, as the Greek fondness for sacraments made itself felt in the Christian cult, the sacramental idea of baptism continued to develop. The author of the Pastorals conceives of baptism as the washing of regeneration.[29] And even the "spiritualizing" author of the fourth Gospel regards both the water and the Spirit as agents in the new birth.[30] The early non-canonical Christian literature also

[26] Rom. 6:11; I Cor. 12:13. The latter passage is claimed by Kennedy (St Paul and the Mystery-religions, p. 239) to be the only one in which Paul brings the gift of the Spirit into close connection with baptism, and he infers from this fact that Paul did not regard baptism as being "the actual vehicle by which salvation was conveyed to the Christian." All that needs be said in answer to such an opinion is that the argument from silence is a very precarious one, and that here we have to do with ideas, not with the mere use or non-use of a word. If Paul does not mention the Spirit whenever he speaks of baptism, he nevertheless always refers to a spiritual change that attended the baptismal rite. Lake suggests that the reason why Paul said so little about the Spirit in connection with baptism was because the acquiring of the Spirit as a result of baptism was taken for granted and did not need special mention (Earlier Epis. of Paul, p. 385 f.).

[27] See Holtzmann, N. T. Theologie, 2nd edit., II, p. 198.

[28] That Paul was at one with his day in the belief in the magical effect of baptism is seen in his acceptance of the practice of baptizing for the dead (I Cor. 15:29). This was no doubt a rite supposed to work saving power upon some dead relative or friend who had not been baptized before death; and it may have had its origin in the Orphic ritual, for "deliverance and purification of living and *dead*" was promised in the Dionysiac initiation. See Plato, Rep., II, 364; and Rohde, Psyche, p. 420 f.

[29] Tit. 3:5.

[30] Jn. 3:5.

reveals the important bearing which baptism was thought to have upon the life of the Spirit. The author of the Didache believes that running water should be used in baptism.[31] Tertullian too is a believer in the magical power of water, as may be seen from the following statement: "With the increase of the grace of God water also acquired more power; that which once healed ills of the body now restores the soul; and that which worked temporal good now renews to eternal life."[32] The author of Barnabas is clearly of the opinion that baptism results in the driving out of the evil spirits in a man's heart, for before he becomes a Christian, his body is a house of demons.[33] And Hermas evaluates baptism so highly as to build his whole ecclesiastical tower upon its waters.[34]

We see then that baptism early became connected with the gift of the Spirit. The emotional experience resulting from the observance of the rite was ascribed to the presence of a spiritual being. The coming of the Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism, as Mark conceives it, was the acquisition on his part of a new divine element or increment in his life. The change which came into the believer's life at baptism was also thought to have been effected by some spiritual agency. It was not simply the application of water or the use of the name of Jesus that brought about this change; it was the presence of some spiritual force in the water and name that accomplished the feat. Hence it was not only the Spirit which a man obtained at baptism, but the Spirit himself was the power that made baptism effective.

The Lord's Supper too, early came to be considered as a means of inducing and stimulating pneumatic conditions. Among the original Jewish Christian group, it was evidently observed simply as a memorial feast, perhaps in imitation of the meals which Jesus had often eaten with his disciples. It is probable that when they thus ate together, they may have thought that Jesus himself was present with them as an unseen guest. At least it is natural that at such times their memories of him should have been very vividly aroused, and a consciousness of his presence in their midst would in such a case have been presupposed. Whether, however, their communion with him on such occasions was

[31] Did. 7:2.

[32] De Baptismo, ch. 5; Clem. Hom., XI, 22 ff.

[33] Barn. 16. It might however with reason be objected that the author regards faith in Jesus' name as the power that drives out these demons, but it is nevertheless to be inferred that this exorcism, according to the opinion of the writer, took place at Baptism.

[34] Sim. 9:16. Cf. also Mand. 4:3.

conceived of as being anything more than a matter of social fellowship is rather doubtful, though they may have been familiar with the ancient idea that the eating of sacred food placed a man in mystical communion with the deity to whom the food was consecrated.[35] But this latter was more of a Gentile than a Jewish conception, and must have influenced the Christian thought of the Eucharist chiefly after the movement had spread into the Gentile world. It is noticeable that Paul occupies a middle position between the Jewish and Gentile conceptions. On the one hand he recommends to the Corinthian Christians the observance of the Lord's Supper as a memorial feast,[36] while on the other hand he believes that the rite was a sacrament binding the participant with a mystic bond to his Lord.[37]

The possibility of a man entering into mystic union with the Deity through the partaking of food sacrificed to Him was an idea that had its roots in primitive beliefs, and was widely current in New Testament times. In the cult of Dionysos the flesh of a bull sacrificed to the god was torn with the teeth and eaten raw, the participant thinking that thus he obtained the divine life resident in the victim.[38] The Attis worshipper partook of some food from a drum and of some drink from a cymbal;[39] and that this was a sacred meal may be inferred from the description which Firmicus Maternus gives of the rite, especially in the passage where he exhorts the Attis devotee to become a partaker of the Christians' sacred meal: "Wretched one! Thou hast eaten poison and drunk of the cup of death. Meat of another kind it is that confers life and salvation, that restores the fainting, that calls back the wanderers, that raises the fallen, that grants to the dying the sign of endless immortality; seek the bread and cup of Christ, that you may fill your human nature with substance that is immortal." The worship of Mithras also included participation in a sacred meal.[40] And we might say that in general all food offered as a sacrifice to the gods was thought to possess a divine potency or strength which could be appropriated by the simple act of partaking of it.[41] This belief was the cause for the difficulty

[35] Robertson Smith, Relig. of the Semites, pp. 239 ff.

[36] I Cor. 11:24, 25.

[37] I Cor. 10:14 ff.

[38] Clement, Protrep., I, 12, 17 f.; Arnobius, Adv. Nat., V, 19; Frazer, The Golden Bough, II, 165; Rohde, Psyche, pp. 301 ff.

[39] Firmicus Maternus, De Errore Profan. Relig., ch. 18.

[40] Justin, Apol. I, 66; Tertullian, De Praescrip. Haer., 40.

[41] On ancient beliefs regarding the eating of a deity see Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie, p. 734; Dieterich, Eine Mithrasliturgie, p. 100; and Wendland, Hellen. Romisch.

and contention that arose in the Corinthian church regarding the eating of meats that had thus been sacrificed, the strong or πνευματικοί, holding that since idols were nothing but matter and the creation of men's hands, the eating of meat sacrificed to them was a matter of indifference, the weak still holding to the belief that such meat had a spiritual potency of an evil nature.[42]

When these Gentiles became Christians, they applied these notions regarding the eating of sacred food to the common meal of the Christian cult, and made a sacrament out of it. And it is in the light of these ideas that one has to interpret the institution of the Lord's Supper as it was practised in the Gentile churches. The bread and wine of which they partook were regarded as surcharged with the potency of the Spirit of Jesus, and they believed that by partaking of these elements they received a new increment of divine substance in them that united them with the heavenly and risen Christ and gave them an assurance of immortality. Even the circle of readers to which the fourth Gospel was addressed was doubtless familiar with this mystical conception of sacred meals, for the use of such expressions by the author as "to eat the flesh" and "drink the blood of the Son of Man" would certainly point in that direction.[43] Of course, the author of this Gospel did not believe in the crass sacramental use of the Lord's Supper which later came to prevail in the Church, for he did not intend these expressions to be interpreted in a literal and physical sense. That is clear from his statement in 6:62, 63 where he says: "What then if ye should behold the Son of Man ascending where he was before? It is the spirit that giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." His idea plainly is that when the believer receives the elements of the Lord's Supper, he does not partake of the physical body and blood of the earthly Jesus, but of the spiritual body of the heavenly Christ. The fourth Gospel then may also be cited in

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Kultur, p. 127. The belief that by eating an inspired book one could gain possession of the Spirit belongs to this same category. See Ez. 3:2 ff. Jer. 15:16; and Rev. 10:8-10. In IV Ez. 14:38 we have an example of inspiration following the drinking of fire-like water. This as well as the wine in the Eucharist finds a parallel in the wine which the Dionysiac worshipper drank to bring on an ecstatic condition (Diodorus, IV, 3).

[42] I Cor. chs. 8-10. See Jubilees 12 for a late Jewish view as to the absence of spirits or demons in idols.

[43] Jn. 6:51-59.

affirmation of the contention that the Lord's Supper as a rite was efficacious in maintaining the mystical union of the believer with his Lord.[44]

The laying on of hands was also regarded by the early Christians as a means of obtaining the Spirit; in this way spiritual power could be transferred from one person to another. This was the method Jesus is said to have employed quite often in his healing of the sick.[45] His way of imparting a divine blessing to children was also of this nature,[46] the idea being that by the placing of his hands upon their heads some spiritual power or substance would pass from him to them. The book of Acts gives a number of instances in which the Holy Spirit came upon those on whose heads the apostles and other Christian leaders placed their hands,[47] and it seems to have been a form of imparting the Spirit particularly to those who were being set aside for some special task and needed an unusual endowment of the Spirit.[48] Paul is significantly reticent on the subject, and it is suggested that the reason for this was the fact that this rite did not easily admit of a mystical interpretation.[49] Since Paul does not mention the laying on of hands in his letters, he may not have observed this custom of the early Church and the statement in Acts 19:6 would then be a misrepresentation. That the rite became more popular after the time of Paul is perhaps indicated in the prominence which it occupies in the Pastoral letters.[50] But to the author of Hebrews it was one of the rudiments of the Christian faith and was something beyond which he wanted his readers to go.[51]

[44] The ῥήματα of vs. 63 is sometimes regarded as indicating that Jn. broke away from all ritual and believed that union with Christ could be attained merely through the reception of Jesus' divine message from heaven. But the context, especially vss. 60-62 favors the opinion that ῥήματα refers to the immediately preceding discourse on the Eucharist.

[45] Mark 6:5; 8:23, 25; Luke 4:40; 23:11. The disciples later also healed in this way (Acts 9:12-17; 28:8).

[46] Mark, 10:16.

[47] Acts 8:17 ff.; 9:17; 19:6. The inability to impart the Holy Spirit which the author of Acts implicitly ascribes to Philip is doubtless unhistorical. The author is an ecclesiastic and endeavors to make Jerusalem the source of spiritual power. It was necessary for Peter and John to go down to Samaria to impart the Spirit because the author of Acts regarded the church at Jerusalem as the true and only source from which the stream of spiritual life should flow. Philip as a pneumatikos certainly should have had the power of imparting the Spirit as well as the leaders at Jerusalem.

[48] Acts 6:6; 13:3.

[49] Gardner, The Relig. Exper. of St. Paul, p. 103.

[50] I Tim. 4:14; 5:22; II Tim. 1:6.

[51] Heb. 6:2. The case of the heavenly Christ laying his hand on the head of the Apocalyptist (Rev. 1:17) should be noticed in this connection. A similar instance occurs in Harpocration, 137, 7.

The origin of the custom may well have been Jewish. It was a practice among the Hebrew people employed especially when they desired to set aside a person or group of persons for some specific task that was thought to require more equipment than the normal faculties of the human soul could furnish.[52] But it had its roots in the common primitive belief that spiritual energy could be transmitted from one person to another through contact. It was simply the practice of sympathetic magic.

A similar practice was the anointing of the head with oil. This was a custom that was in considerable vogue among the Jews and was employed by them especially when a man was appointed to a specific office. But in the New Testament it appears to have been used chiefly in the healing of the sick, the oil being regarded as possessing some power to drive away the demon of disease.[53]

Prayer too was considered a means of producing pneumatic states. And this was an idea common to both Jews and Greeks.[54] The author of Acts represents the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost as having been preceded by a season of prayer on the part of the disciples.[55] Prayer to him was the means of obtaining a knowledge of the divine will.[56] The Spirit came to the Samaritans only after the apostles had prayed and had laid their hands on them;[57] and Peter obtained his visions on the housetop as he was in the act of prayer.[58] Prayer was commonly offered when men were set apart for some special work and needed

[52] Num. 8:10; 27:18; Deut. 34:9.

[53] Mark 6:13; Jas. 5:14. It should be noticed with reference to the latter passage that the name of Jesus was also used in connection with the anointing as it was in the rite of baptism. The scanty reference to this practice in the New Testament would indicate that it was perhaps not extensively observed by the Christians.

[54] See for example I Sam. 8:6 f.; Is. 21:6; Hab. 2:1; Judith 11:17; and Jub. 12 for the Jewish conception of obtaining visions or a knowledge of God's will through prayer. And it was believed by the Greeks, especially by the Gnostics, that if a man could not have visions in which his soul ascended to heaven, he could by prayer call down the deity or his Spirit to take possession of him (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 178). The prayer to Hermes found in Kenyon, Gr. Papy., I, p. 116, is based on such a belief: "Come to me, O Hermes, *ὡς τὰ βρέφη εἰς τὰς κοιλίας τῶν γυναικῶν.*"

[55] Acts 1:14.

[56] Acts 1:24.

[57] Acts 8:15.

[58] Acts 10:9.

spiritual equipment.[59] Moreover the power needed to exorcise demons was obtained through prayer.[60] With Paul prayer was not only a means of obtaining the Spirit; it was in itself a Spirit-operation.[61] The great longing and desire for the yet unattained, which Paul had in his heart, he ascribed to the agency of the Spirit and believed that the Spirit was active in aiding a man to pray aright.[62] According to his opinion there were evidently two kinds of prayer, distinguished by the degree of their inspiration: (1) the prayer that was offered under such intense emotion that the human consciousness was lost,—this he calls praying in the spirit; and (2) the prayer in which a man still retained the power of understanding.[63] James believed that prayer had healing power and that the prayer of a righteous man had special potency.[64]

In ancient times fasting was frequently associated with prayer[65] and was considered also as a method of securing spiritual power. The reason why fasting was connected with pneumatic conditions was the effect which it had upon the physical organism, as well as the sense of morbid exaltation which it thereby produced and which rendered the seeing of spectral beings, from which power or spiritual knowledge could be gained, more facile. The importance which was attached to fasting as a religious act by the Jews is well known.[66] But fasting as a means of bringing on pneumatic states was also practised by the Gentiles and was regarded as one of the strongest means of disturbing the normal functions of the mind and producing ecstatic visions. The Pythia among other things practised fasting for the sake of obtaining inspiration;[67] and Galen says that the dreams produced by fasting were clearer than any others.[68]

Among the Christians fasting was indulged in, at least according to Acts, when some great task was about to be undertaken or some new plan was to be inaugurated. Special divine power and guidance was

[59] Acts 6:6; 13:3; 14:23.

[60] Mark 9:29; Matthew 17:21.

[61] Rom. 8:15, 16.

[62] Rom. 8:26 f.

[63] I Cor. 14:15. See also Eph. 6:18 and Jude 20 for references to the former of these two kinds of prayer.

[64] Jas. 5:15. 16.

[65] Cf. Matthew 17:21; Luke 2:37; Acts 13:3; 14:23. See also IV Ez. 5:13; 9:24 f.

[66] See Dan. 10:2 ff.; II Bar. 12:5; 43:3. In IV Ez. 5:20 and 6:31, 35 we find instances of the prophet fasting before his ecstasy came upon him.

[67] Paus. I, 34; Philos., Life of Apollon. Tyan., 1.

[68] Comment. on Hippocrates, 1.

felt to be necessary for its proper execution.[69] Paul rarely refers to fasting, and when he does, he perhaps does not attach any spiritual significance to it, but uses the word rather in the sense of ordinary hunger and thirst.[70] At any rate fasting does not seem to figure very largely in his thinking. But when Mark wrote his Gospel, he felt the need of explaining why the Christians who originally did not fast, had adopted the custom.[71] And Matthew prefaces the active ministry of Jesus with a fast of forty days and regards this as a part of Jesus' pneumatic training for his life-work.[72] His instructions in the Sermon on the Mount regarding the proper method of fasting presupposes the observance of the custom in the Church when he wrote his Gospel.[73]

While fasting was a sad and self-abnegating method of obtaining spiritual power, a more joyful means of producing ecstatic conditions was found in music. Jesus and his disciples sang a hymn just before they went out to Gethsemane, on which occasion Jesus was in special need of divine power.[74] It was evidently the custom among the Corinthian Christians to engage in singing, Paul no doubt being a participator.[75] And he urges the Ephesians and Colossians to arouse themselves to ecstatic activities and fill themselves with divine Spirit by singing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.[76] The singing of hymns must have been quite a general practice with the early Christians, as may be judged from the number of hymns that were already embodied in the New Testament books.[77]

The reason why music was connected with spirit-operations was the effect which it had upon the emotions. When the Christians sang

[69] Acts 13:2, 3; 14:23.

[70] II Cor. 6:5; 11:27. Cf. I Cor. 4:11. The "fastings often" which Paul mentions may refer to occasions when he lacked the means to provide himself with sufficient food, rather than that he indulged in fasting as a religious act. The reference to the Fast in Acts 27:9 would point merely to Paul's acquaintance with this Jewish custom, not necessarily to his observance of it.

[71] Mark 2:18-20.

[72] Matthew 4:2.

[73] Matthew 6:16 ff.

[74] Mark 14:26.

[75] I Cor. 14:15, 26. In vs. 15 Paul makes it clear that singing was an operation of the Spirit, and it is to be inferred that this singing like tongues and the praying in the spirit was unintelligible. See Acts 16:25 for another reference to Paul's engaging in singing.

[76] Eph. 5:18 f.; Col. 3:16. That singing and music produced pneumatic states is here clearly asserted.

[77] The book of Revelation is especially rich in these Christian songs, some of

their hymns, their emotions were mightily stirred both on account of the sounds produced and because of the tone of victory which the words embodied; and they, of course, could not explain such a feeling within them except on the grounds of spiritual agency. In this they were in accord with the beliefs of their time. The Jews believed that music inspired their prophets,[78] and that it could drive out evil spirits from men, as was the case, for example, with the casting out of Saul's evil spirit through David's musical skill.[79] The Greeks had a similar conception and music formed a prominent part in the practices especially in the Orphic and Apollo cults. The music of the former they regarded as more ecstatic than that of the latter, for the Apolline music was more sober and did not affect the emotions so strongly;[80] and yet both were considered as possessing divine power. In the popular mind musical sounds were the voice of spirits or demons. Even Pythagoras is said once to have remarked that "the sound indeed which is given by striking brass is the voice of a certain demon contained therein."[81] Heirs of such notions, it is easy to see why the early Christians should have reckoned singing as a means of acquiring possession of the Spirit.

The means of Spirit-possession thus far discussed have been concerned with appeals to the senses of touch, taste, and hearing. But the ancients also made appeals to the sense of sight. Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness and those who looked upon it lived.[82] The mysteries had as a part of their initiatory ceremony the ἐποπτεία which consisted of the pictorial representation of scenes connected with the myth of the cult. The initiate who looked upon these sacred scenes was illumined and became identified with the deity. And perhaps in connection with this vision sacred exhortations explaining the mystic actions of the god were pronounced. In the Pseudo-Apuleian Asklepios we find a statement like this: "We rejoice that while in our bodies thou didst deify us by the sight of thyself."[83] It is thought too that some of

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which are found in 4:11; 5:9 ff.; 11:17 f.; 12:10-12; 19:1-8. The infancy narratives of Luke contain several that were ascribed to the authorship of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon. I Tim. 3:16 and II Tim. 2:11 ff. may also have been songs that were used by the Christians.

[78] I Sam. 10:5; II Ki. 3:15.

[79] I Sam. 16:23.

[80] See Farnell, Higher Aspects of Gr. Relig., p. 118.

[81] Porphyry, Life of Pythagoras.

[82] Num. 21:9.

[83] Reitzenstein, Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft, 1914, pp. 393-7.

the mysteries employed bright lights in order to produce a powerful emotional impression upon the initiates; and this may be what Lucius refers to when he says: "At midnight I beheld the sun radiating white light."[84]

The Christians evidently also appealed to the sense of sight, but merely in a figurative sense. In their case it was not an exhibition of material objects or scenes, but an appeal to the historical imagination stated in terms of the ἐποπτεία. Paul reminds the Galatians that he had placarded (προεγράφη) the crucified Christ before their eyes.[85] The passages in John in which Jesus is represented as saying that he would be "lifted up," of course, refer to his crucifixion; and yet the idea of illumination and salvation by sight is here present. Jesus, the Light of the world, was lifted up on the cross; those who look upon that cross shall become sons of light.[86] The author of I Peter recommends the sight of good conduct in Christians as a means of converting the unbelieving.[87] And the author of II Peter represents the chief of the apostles as an ἐπόπτης of the majesty of Christ which manifested itself at the transfiguration.[88] It seems clear then that the Christians described certain features of the life of Christ in such a vivid way that they figuratively presented them to their hearers' sight. The result, of course, was an emotional experience, which because of its intensity, was as usual ascribed to the work of the Spirit.[89]

Finally, faith was reckoned as a means of bringing on ecstatic conditions. It was felt that a man had to have a proper disposition or soul before he could enter into communion with the deity, and faith represented that attitude of receptivity and sense of trust and dependence

[84] Apuleius, Metam., XI, 23.

[85] Gal. 3:1.

[86] John 3:14; 8:28; 12:32 ff. Notice in particular how the discourse in 12:32 ff. turns to the subject of light. Cf. II Cor. 4:4, 6; Heb. 6:4; 10:32. It is also noteworthy how the author of Acts connects Paul's conversion with a vision of a bright light.

[87] I Pet. 2:12; 3:2. The significant point to be noticed here is the use of the word, ἐποπτεύω.

[88] II Pet. 1:16 ff.

[89] Whether visions in the technical sense were a means of producing ecstatic conditions is rather doubtful. They were rather the *result* of spirit-possession. Yet the longing for the vision-experience and the expectancy which a belief in visions wrought in a man's soul would tend to bring on a state of ecstatic vision. Men generally find that for which they are looking and hoping, especially when it belongs to the spiritual or immaterial universe.

which were requisite before the deity or his Spirit would take up his abode in the soul. The Jews made faith practically synonymous with faithfulness,[90] and believed that the faithful observance of the law brought man into proper relation with God. The Greeks however had rather the idea that a man could become united with the deity through sympathy of spirit, and they made faith an abiding disposition of the soul that brought it into harmony with the deity.[91]

With the Christians faith was a necessary condition to the reception of the Spirit. Only believers could obtain possession of the Spirit. But various Christian groups evidently differed somewhat in their idea as to the inevitability of the possession of the Spirit following upon a profession of faith. According to the popular conceptions, as represented for example in Acts,[92] a man might become a believer and yet not be seized by the Spirit. Since the activity of the Spirit was confined to certain spectacular phenomena that manifested themselves only on special occasions or in certain individuals, the gift of the Spirit was in this sense not the universal possession of all believers. The representation in the Gospels accords in the main with this view of the matter. The disciples are described as believing in Jesus long before his death, and yet with the exception of several special occasions as when Jesus sent them out to preach and heal, or when Peter made his confession,[93] they seemingly did not have possession of the Spirit. Luke is particularly specific on this point.[94] And even the Gospel of John defers the acquiring of the Spirit on the part of the disciples until after the glorification of Jesus.[95]

With Paul faith was not merely a profession of belief in the identification of Jesus with the Apocalyptic Messiah; it meant also a belief in the death of Jesus on the cross, his resurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to heaven. It was by virtue of these experiences of Jesus that the power of his name became established and acquired a potency that far surpassed the strength of any other being in the universe, spiritual or otherwise.[96] It was by faith that a man became mystically united with this dying and rising deity and acquired possession of the

[90] See e. g. Hab. 2:4.

[91] See Farnell, Higher Aspects of Gr. Relig., pp. 142 ff. with the authorities cited there.

[92] Notice how faith and the Spirit are brought together in Acts 6:5; 11:24.

[93] Mark 6:7 ff.; Matthew 16:17.

[94] Luke 24:49.

[95] John 7:39.

[96] Rom. 10: 8 ff.; I Cor. 15:1 ff.; Phil. 2:9-11.

power of his name. It was thus that a man obtained the indwelling Christ,[97] and was justified in the sight of God.[98] Such a conception of faith is an indication that on this point also Paul allied himself more closely with Hellenistic mysticism than with his Jewish antecedents.[99] And holding such a notion, it is natural that he should regard the Spirit as the universal possession of believers. Everyone who received the message of faith which he preached regarding the crucified and risen Lord Jesus, would receive the Spirit, Gentiles as well as Jews.[100] The gift of the Spirit came in response to the believer's faith. It was when men through faith became sons of God that He sent His Spirit into their hearts.[101]

Since faith occupied such a central and prominent place in Paul's thinking, one is led to think that sacraments would have a correspondingly subordinate place in his view of the spiritual life. And evidence might be pointed out that he did place but little confidence in the efficacy of any external rite. One can even go so far as to say that had it not been for the efficacy which he believed faith in the power of Jesus' name had in the baptismal rite, he would doubtless not have considered baptism as of any greater value than circumcision. Yet he did evidently believe that the sacraments served a practical purpose and that they did have the power, of course as a result of the believer's faith, but also as a result of the divine potency in the water and name used in baptism and in the elements used in the Eucharist, to stir up the emotions and hence to produce ecstatic conditions. In spite of the fact that he believed that without faith no external ceremony would avail, there is after all no real contradiction between his use of the sacraments and his doctrine of faith. Faith, as we have just pointed out, was the attitude of soul which a man of necessity had to take toward the dying and rising deity, Christ, before the Spirit would enter his body, but this did not preclude the belief in the possibility of inducing the Spirit by the use of external means to enter a man when once he believed. We make a mistake when we think that Paul believed that the Spirit could be obtained in only one way. The large number of means referred to above which the Christians employed to induce and stimulate Spirit-

[97] Eph. 3:17.

[98] Rom. 5:1; Gal. 2:15 ff.; *et al.*

[99] See especially Bousset, Relig. des Jud., pp. 235 ff. and 514 ff.; and Kyrios Christos, pp. 174-180. In the latter reference a large number of parallels in Greek, Neo-Platonic and Hermetic literature to Paul's conception of faith will be found.

[100] Gal. 3:2, 14; Rom. 3:22.

[101] Gal. 4:6; cf. Rom. 8:14 ff.

activities is an indication that they thought that a man could obtain the Spirit in various ways. Of course, the man had to be a believer, and according to Paul he could doubtless acquire possession of the Spirit simply through faith without any external stimulus. And yet this would not necessarily prevent Paul from believing that external stimulation such as the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper as well as the preaching of the gospel could really aid a man in his spiritual life. Since faith was so fundamental, he of course stressed the idea of the necessity of faith, especially when his Judaistic enemies compelled him to do so; but he may nevertheless at the same time have believed in the efficacious influence of external means in the development of the Christian life.

The prominence which faith occupies in the religious notions of the Johannine literature is one of the outstanding features of these books. Faith is regarded here as in the Pauline literature as the precondition of receiving the blessings of the Spirit. If a man believes in the Christ, the embodied Logos, he obtains eternal life. And this life comes by the possession of the Spirit, for the Spirit is the life-producer.[102] Again faith unites the believer in a mystic union with the Father or the Son;[103] and when a man thus has the Father or Son, he receives a spiritual entity within him[104] that produces new life and works a regenerating process in his soul.[105]

How faith produced ecstatic states is not difficult to understand. When a man professed his conviction that Jesus, the Lord of spirits, could drive out and overcome the demons within him, there must have come to him an overpowering sense of victory and joy. Or when he became convinced that he was united to the dying and rising deity, Christ, such a faith must have appealed equally as much to his emotions. Or again when through the preaching of the gospel a man believed that he had obtained a vision of the glory of God and a knowledge of the way to heaven, the intellectual "emotion" thus produced must have been extraordinary. What more natural than that faith should come to be regarded as the cause of these phenomena, inexplicable on any other grounds than that of spiritual agency.

[102] John 6:63.

[103] I John 4:15; 5:10 ff.

[104] Notice that according to the Johannine conception God is conceived of as a being of spiritual substance (John 4:24).

[105] Eternal life as the result of faith is a constant theme of the Gospel. See John 3:15, 16, 36; 6:47; 20:31 *et al.*

In Rom. 10:13-15 we have a hint as to the method used by Paul and perhaps by the other Christian leaders for the stimulation of spiritual activities. If we read the questions in the reverse order from that in which they are given, we get the method of their procedure. First comes the apostle, the one who is sent, with his message. His preaching is heard and the people give heed to his words. This leads to faith in the heavenly Christ, and as the result of this faith the power in the name of this heavenly Lord is appealed to as an aid in overcoming the evil forces in the world. This name is called upon in baptism, in prayer, in singing, and in other rites and practices of the cult, and the believer obtains a new power or entity in his life that frees him from the sin and fear and evil powers that had enslaved him. This was doubtless the procedure and these the means whereby a Christian of the first century obtained possession of the Spirit and was saved.

CHAPTER V

The Believer as Pneumatikos: The Benefit of Spirit-Possession

This chapter has to do with the conception which the early Christians held as to what they received when they obtained possession of the Spirit. We have already in the preceding two chapters incidentally referred to the results of Spirit-endowment, but here it is necessary to deal with the matter in greater detail. And the distinction should be made that we are concerned not with the *forms* of Spirit-activity, which were dealt with in chapter three, but with the *benefit* or *benefits* which the Christians believed accrued to them by virtue of their possession of the Spirit.

It is at once noticeable that the various writers of the New Testament books have somewhat different ideas as to what the Christians gained by Spirit-possession. And this divergence of view, as was also the variation in their opinion as to what constituted a Spirit-operation,[1] was due partly to a difference in innate temperament, partly to a difference in their present pneumatic experiences, and partly to a difference in their past religious training. Their present religious experiences they interpreted in the light of the impression which the Christian message and cult-practices made upon their emotions and in the light of what they believed to be the content or end of salvation. The appeal which the Christian faith and practice made upon the believer depended somewhat upon his emotional temperament; while the idea which he had of the content of salvation was derived from the religious notions of his age and constituted a part of his past religious inheritance and training. This will perhaps become clearer as we proceed with our investigation.

We have noticed[2] that when the first group of Jesus' followers came to believe in his resurrection and in his lordship over the evil forces of the spiritual world which that involved, and identified the risen Jesus with the heavenly or Apocalyptic Messiah, ecstatic conditions arose among them; and these pneumatic experiences were interpreted in the light of the notions which they held as to the pouring out of the Spirit at the coming of the Messianic age.[3] They believed that the Spirit of

[1] See ch. 3, p. 68 ff.

[2] Ch. 3, p. 41 ff.

[3] See especially Joel 2:28 ff.; Zech. 12:10; and Text. Jud. 24.

God which the Messiah himself possessed was now sent down by him to them, and that it came not only as an aid in preparing them for the coming of the Messiah, but as a help in their inducing others to prepare for this to them imminent event. In other words they were beginning to enjoy the blessings of the Messianic age;[4] the power of performing miracles, the preaching of an inspired message, the prophesying of the future establishment of the Kingdom of God, the dreaming of dreams, the seeing of visions, the speaking in tongues, in fact, all the various ecstatic activities that arose among them were a sign that the promise of the Spirit which had been made by the prophets of old, especially by Joel, was being fulfilled. The first benefit then which the early Christians felt that they were receiving as pneumatikoi was that they were now, at least by anticipation, members of the Messianic kingdom.[5]

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But in becoming members of the Kingdom they believed that they first had to sustain a proper relation to God. One could not enter the Kingdom so long as his sins were unforgiven and the law was not properly observed; indeed the Messiah would not come until men had thus prepared the way for him. Forgiveness of sins could be obtained by repentance, by being baptized in the name of Jesus, and by receiving the gift of the Spirit.[6] The one who had the Spirit of Christ had the power which resided in his name, and could thus secure a blotting out of his sins. The Spirit aided in the keeping of the law and in the stimulating of pious conduct. The fear of God took possession of their hearts, and some, at least, of the Jewish Christians were as zealous in the observance of the temple ritual as the strictest Pharisee.[7] The Spirit then became a factor in the obtaining of a forgiveness of sins and in the keeping of the law.

The Spirit also aided the early Christians in their endeavors to prepare others for the coming of the Messiah. Their inspired message

[4] See Weinel, Die Wirkungen u. s. w., pp. 42 ff.

[5] The value which they placed upon this membership may be seen in the statement in Matthew which ranks the one who occupies a very humble position in the Kingdom higher than John the Baptist who was the greatest of those outside of the Kingdom. The reason for this was simply that the one in the Kingdom had the Spirit which John and his followers lacked. See Matthew 11:11; Mark 1:8; Matthew 3:11; Luke 3:16; John 1:26, 33; Acts 19:1-7. Evidently John's movement lacked the power of stirring the emotions to the point where the effects came to be regarded as Spirit-activities.

[6] Acts 2:38; 3:19-20.

[7] See Acts 2:43, 46; 3:1 ff.; 15:24; Gal. 2:12. Cf. also Eth. En. 49:3 f.; 61:1'; Ps. Sol. 17:42, where the Spirit and a virtuous life are conjoined.

led men to repent of their sins and to desire baptism. They were given wisdom, courage and power by the Spirit for the planning and prosecution of the work which was still to be done before the Messiah would come.[8] Their performance of miracles caused many to glorify God and their power of exorcising demons in particular demonstrated that the power of the Lord of spirits was residing in them, and that he who had this power was safe from the demons and evil forces about him.

So the benefits derived by the early Jewish Christians from the endowment of the Holy Spirit, according to their viewpoint, consisted of certain ecstatic experiences, from which they judged themselves to have become members of the Messianic kingdom and to have obtained forgiveness of sins for themselves, and power and guidance to lead others into the Kingdom. And it should be noticed that their idea as to what benefits they derived from the possession of the Spirit depended, of course in the first place upon the nature of their own ecstatic experiences, but also on the other hand upon their conception of the spiritual endowment of the Messiah in particular, and of their prophets in general. The Messiah, they thought, was endowed with the spirit of wisdom and might, of knowledge and the fear of Jehovah.[9] He possessed the spiritual equipment for preaching glad tidings of deliverance, and performing miraculous deeds.[10] He sat upon a throne as the Lord of spirits and was anointed with the spirit of righteousness.[11] The prophet, they believed, had the privilege of entering ecstatic states in which he saw visions, heard the voice of angels, received messages from God, and felt as if his soul had been transported to heaven.[12]

When the Christians became convinced of their own spiritual endowment and came to believe that the Spirit which was in them was of the same nature and substance as the Spirit that possessed the Messiah,—for since it came from the heavenly Messiah, it must of necessity be the same as his in substance,—then, of course, they could do naught but ascribe the same kind of results and benefits to the Spirit working

[8] Acts 1:8; 4:8, 31; 9:31; 13:24; 15:28; 16:6, 7 *et al.* Cf. I Cor. 2:7-10; 12:28. According to the representation in Acts, one might almost call the Spirit the guardian angel of the Church, a notion that corresponds to the Roman idea of the *genius publicus*. See also Rev. 1:20; 3:7 *et al.*

[9] Is. 11:2.

[10] Is. 35:5 f.; 61:1 ff.; Matthew 11:5; Luke 4:18 ff.

[11] Eth. En. 62:2.

[12] See in particular the experiences of Ezekiel mentioned in his prophecies: 2:2; 3:12; 11:1 *et al*, as well as those referred to in the Apocalypses of Enoch, Baruch, and Ezra.

in them as they supposed were issuing from the Messiah. They too had wisdom and power in the performance of their duties as members of the Messianic Kingdom; they too had the fear of Jehovah in their hearts and the desire to lead a pious life; they too had power over spirits and demons; they too had a consciousness that their call was one of preaching the gospel, performing miracles, and prophesying. And in a similar way they felt that since the Messianic age would be one in which prophecy would play a great part,[13] they would also be partakers of the benefits which were currently ascribed to the ecstatic experiences of the prophet.[14] Thus we see how the construction which the early Christians put upon their spiritual endowment depended very largely upon their conception of the heavenly Messiah and of the prophetic office, which they had formed as a result of their religious heritage and training.

When we turn to a consideration of what the Gentile Christians regarded as the benefit of their Spirit-endowment, we have to deal first of all with Paul's idea of the matter, for he stands at the turning-point, as it were, where the Jewish idea of salvation was being transplanted by the Gentile conception.

Paul's Christian life began with an ecstatic experience in which, according to Acts, he had a vision of the heavenly Christ.[15] This vision must have been the result of his contact with the Christians whom he had been persecuting. What the processes were by which his soul

[13] Acts 2:16 ff.

[14] The chief benefit to the prophet of his pneumatic experiences was the attainment of divine knowledge or revelation. For revelation through vision see Acts 7:55; 9:1, 10, 12 (cf. 2:17); 10:3, 9; 11:5, 12; 16:9; 18:9; 22:17; 23:11; 27:23; Mark 9:2 ff.; Luke 24:31; 24:37, 39; Heb. 11:27; Rev. 1:12 ff.; *et al.* For revelation through angels see Matthew 1:20, 24; 2:13, 19; Luke 1:11; 1:13, 26; 2:9; John 12:29; Acts 7:53; 8:26; 10:3; 12:8; 23:9; 27:23; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2; Rev. 1:1; 2:1; *et al.* For the transport of the soul to heaven, see II Cor. 12:2; Rev. 4:1 ff.; Matthew 4:1; Acts 8:39: and cf. I Cor. 5:3; II Cor. 5:6; Heb. 11:5. For revelation through dreams see Matthew 1:20, 24; 2:12, 13, 19, 22; 27:19. For revelation through the eating of a book see Rev. 10:9 ff. For revelation through the prophetically inspired Jewish Scriptures consult Matthew 2:5, 15, 17, 23; Luke 18:31; Acts 1:16; 4:24; Rom. 16:25; II Tim. 3:16; I Pet. 1:11; Heb. 3:7; 10:15. The New Testament writers with the exception of the Apocalyptist (cf. Rev. 22:6, 16) did not regard their writings as inspired, though they must have considered them to be helpful for the readers to whom they were addressed (see John 20:31; Col. 4:16; and II Pet. 3:15 ff. where some of the New Testament books, especially the Pauline letters, were already regarded as Scripture).

[15] Acts 9:1 ff.; 22:3 ff.; 26:2 ff.

in his relations with the Christians became stirred to the point of ecstasy we do not know, but at least he must in some way have come to the place where he was willing to admit that the identification of Jesus with the heavenly Messiah which the Christians had already made, was a matter of certitude, and that he was therefore bound to acknowledge this heavenly being as his Lord. And this involved of course a belief in the death, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus. This acknowledgment on his part was doubtless the cause for the emotional experience in which he is said to have had a vision of Jesus in heaven, or in which, to quote his own words, "God called me through his grace to reveal his Son in me."[16]

It was on this occasion that Paul felt that a new power had entered his life. Especially when he was baptized did he feel a new emotion and elation in his soul. He now became a pneumatic person. Like the Jewish Christians whose circle he joined, he began to preach, to prophesy, to speak with tongues, to have ecstatic visions, to exorcise demons, etc.[17] He believed too that these pneumatic experiences were somehow connected with his faith in his heavenly Lord, and hence he ascribed them to the influence of the Spirit which the heavenly Christ sent into his heart and which was in fact the Spirit of this very being himself.[18]

When Paul came to believe that he had some of the spiritual substance of the heavenly Lord in him, he as a result was convinced that he had power over every opposing spiritual being in the universe. As we have seen,[19] he believed that in virtue of his possession of the Spirit he was united in a mystic bond with this exalted Lord and hence could claim the same power that his Lord possessed. Since Christ had overcome death and the powers of the underworld, he too had no need to fear these;[20] since Christ was the Lord of spirits, he could through his

[16] Gal. 1:16. Cf. I Cor. 12:3. In this vision we are not necessarily to think that Paul saw anything objectively real. It was an inner experience which he had and which the author of Acts interprets as an external reality, in accordance with the custom of the ancients who did not distinguish between the objective and subjective. We might add also that the interpretation which Paul put upon this experience was doubtless affected and tinctured by the Apocalyptic ideas regarding the Messiah which prevailed among some of the Jews of his day and with which he must have become familiar perhaps even before he met any Christians.

[17] Acts 9:20 ff.; Gal. 1:16; I Cor. 2:4; 13:2; 14:18; II Cor. 12:1 ff.; I Cor. 15:8; II Cor. 12:12; Rom. 15:19; I Thess. 1:5.

[18] I Cor. 12:3; II Cor. 3:17.

[19] Ch. 3, p. 73 and ch. 4, pp. 85 f. and 87 f.

[20] Rom. chs. 6-8; I Cor. 15:50-58.

power subdue the demonic forces of sin and disease;[21] since Christ was the vicegerent of God in Heaven, he was safe from the elemental spirits,[22] the principalities and powers of the air, and the hordes of evil spirits in heavenly places.[23]

It is clear that Paul regarded the possession of the Spirit of Christ both as a present advantage and as a future benefit. Of course he regarded his ecstatic experiences and his power over evil spirits as present advantages, but he did not stop at these popular ideas. The change which had come into his whole life, he attributed also to the work of the Spirit. He was now already in this life a new creature;[24] he was wearing the Spirit of Christ like a garment.[25] He was a new man. New life had come into his being;[26] at baptism he had been raised to newness of life.[27] In other words his whole inner life had been changed; he had made an abrupt break with the past history of his life. Whereas he had been dead because of sin, he was now alive; whereas he had been a slave to the law and to fear, he was now a freedman;[28] whereas he

[21] Rom. 6:1-11; I Cor. 12:9b; 11:30; cf. Rom. 8:2. Notice that in I Cor. 11:30 Paul connects sickness with a lack of union with Christ, which is brought about if a man fails to observe the Lord's Supper properly.

[22] The στοιχεῖα (Gal. 4:3, 9; Col. 2:8, 20) were the demonic beings that resided in the elements of the world and were thought to bind men under a fatalistic law of necessity from which they could not free themselves without the aid of divine power or knowledge. On this subject see Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, pp. 244 f. and the authorities cited there. Diels, Elementum, is especially worthy of mention.

[23] Eph. 1:21; 2:2; 6:10 ff.; Rom. 8:38, 39; and cf. Slav. En. 20; Eth. En. 61:10; Test. Levi, 3. The heavenly bodies were deified and were quite generally regarded as holding men in a sort of bondage and as endangering the safe passage of the soul to its abode in heaven. For an idea as to what it must have meant for a man of Paul's day to have the power of conquering the evil forces and beings with which he thought he was surrounded, read Plutarch's essay on Superstition.

[24] II Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15.

[25] Eph. 4:24.

[26] Rom. 8:11, 13.

[27] Rom. 6:4, 5; Col. 2:11, 12.

[28] Gal. 5:1, 18; II Cor. 3:17. Paul's emphasis upon the freedom of the Spirit-endowed man involved him in the charge of antinomianism, a charge that was doubtless supported by the licentious conduct of some members of the cult who by their release from old social sanctions and restraints lost their self-control. Paul deals with this charge in Rom. 6 and Gal. 5. His idea is that a man who has the Spirit can not sin, for his mind is the mind of the Spirit which is holy. The flesh and sin have no more power over him since he has this new divine increment in his soul controlling all his actions. The Spirit works like an inner law; the believer's self or ego is subject to it and acts according to its dictates (Gal. 5:18; Rom. 7:6; 8:2). The same idea occurs in I John 3:6.

had been a child of bondage, he was now a son in God's household;[29] and whereas in his former life, living under the domination of the flesh, his life had issued in naught but impurities, excesses, and hatred of his fellowmen, he now was living an unselfish and virtuous life.[30] It was nothing else than Christ driving sin and Satan out of his heart and taking up his abode therein.[31]

But this inner change and transformation of life and this union with Christ could not be maintained without a struggle on man's part. It meant a severe battle with Satan and his hosts of demons. It was a contest against the chthonian, the earthly, the heavenly principalities and powers who were always trying to get possession of a man's heart or do him injury, and to sever his connection with Christ.[32] A man had to use all the weapons, spiritual weapons of course, which he possibly could, if he hoped to gain the victory. And notice that one of the chief weapons was the sword of the Spirit.[33] It seems then that Paul did not think that a man should hold his human powers completely in abeyance; he was to put forth his utmost energy in opposing the evil forces around him. And yet he was thoroughly convinced that it was the divine power or entity in the Christian that after all gained the victory for him. Without this divine insert a man's own powers would be unavailing.

But Paul did not only believe that the endowment of the Spirit procured the believer present advantages; he held that the future had promise of far more glorious things. The present power and possession

[29] Rom. 8:16; Gal. 4:6.

[30] Gal. 5:16-25. Paul perhaps never went so far as the Greeks who deified some of the emotions and virtues such as shame, pity, fear, love, wisdom, etc. (Paus. I, 17, 1; Plut. Cleom., 9). But he did regard the virtues as due to spiritual agency. This appears, besides the passage just cited, especially in I Cor. 4:10 and Gal. 6:1 where he speaks of the "spirit of gentleness."

[31] The idea of a god becoming incarnate in his worshippers, which Paul certainly approaches, is illustrated by the reference in Pausanias (IX, 39, 7) to the ministrants at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea in whom Hermes supposedly took his abode. And the same can be said with regard to the Bacchic mystae (Arist., Eq. 408). Furthermore, according to the thought of the day, it was felt that no good spirit could dwell with an evil spirit in the same body at the same time (Philo, Quis Rer. Div. 53; Hermas, Mand. 5, 1 & 2; 10, 2; 12, 5), and if a man could command the power of a good spirit that was stronger than the evil spirit within him, the latter would be displaced.

[32] Eph. 6:10 ff.; Rom. 8:38, 39.

[33] Eph. 6:17.

of the Spirit was merely an "earnest" of what the future had in store.[34] The present life in Christ was simply a foretaste of the glorious life to come. There were still too many opposing forces both within and without a man to permit the life here in this world to be free from imperfections and limitations. But the union with Christ in the Spirit not only gave assurance of a safe passage into the next world, for by the resurrection of Christ death had been conquered;[35] it also ensured a state of blessed immortality in the future. The believer's resurrection was assured by virtue of Christ's rising from the dead,[36] and eternal life was the reward of the one who in the present life cultivated the Spirit.[37] The future life would furthermore be one of close fellowship and communion with Christ in heaven,[38] the union begun on earth finding its full fruition there. Paul's Jewish connections manifest themselves in his idea of the future corporeal existence of the soul, for the Jews were unable to think of the soul as existing without the body. So Paul believed that in the future world a man would have a spiritual and immortal body that would accord with the changed circumstances and conditions of the future life and would yet furnish a fit embodiment for the soul.[39]

The chief advance which Paul made upon the Jewish Christians' conception of the benefit received from Spirit-endowment was his idea of the mystic union with the heavenly Christ which he believed the possession of the Spirit effected. This union brought the believer salvation, which consisted in being born again to divine sonship, in the securing of power over demons, and in the attainment of a life of blessed immortality.[40] With Paul salvation was not merely membership in the Messianic kingdom or a proper external convenantal relationship with God; it was the inner transformation of body and soul which came as the result of the possession of a new divine increment in his life. It was not only a national

[34] II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14; Rom. 8:23.

[35] Rom. 6:8 ff.; I Cor. 15:57.

[36] I Cor. 15:20 ff. One is here reminded of a certain Egyptian text: "As surely as Osiris lives so surely shall his disciple" (Cumont, Relig. orientales dans l'Emp. Romain, p. 121), which means that the union with the deity made the devotee a partaker of the immortal life of the god.

[37] Gal. 6:8.

[38] Phil. 1:23.

[39] I Cor. 15:35 ff.; Phil. 3:21.

[40] Gunkel is of the opinion that Paul's idea of the possession of the Spirit included three main advantages: (1) a new state of existence; (2) ethical strength; and (3) the charismata (Die Wirkungen u.s.w., pp. 84-9).

salvation through the mediation of a Messiah, but an individual redemption through union with a dying and rising deity. It need no more than be pointed out that this conception of salvation agrees with that promised by the mystery cults and shows how Paul's idea of the content of salvation was related to his contact with the Gentile thought-world.[41]

The Synoptic writers have little to say about the benefits to the believer of Spirit-possession; they are chiefly concerned with the person and work of the historical earthly Jesus. But we may infer from the few references to the operations of the Spirit that they in general regard the endowment of the Spirit as having a value for the accomplishment of two particular ends. First of all, the believer is empowered by the possession of the Spirit to cast out demons, to heal the sick and to preach the gospel.[42] It is Mark who emphasizes especially the power of the disciples over demons, and this element in Mark seems to have passed over into the Gospels of Matthew and Luke when they used Mark as one of their literary sources. Matthew seems to stress rather the equipment of the disciples for their work as witnesses and preachers of the gospel, and Luke follows him in this aspect of Spirit-endowment.[43] In the second place, the Spirit would be a help to the disciples in time of persecution. If in the prosecution of their Christian work and propaganda they were arrested and brought before the rulers for judgment, the Spirit would be their prompter and would help them in making their defence. He would give them courage and power not to deny their faith in Christ.[44] The Synoptists also give an account of certain vision-experiences which the disciples had of the risen Jesus, but although these experiences doubtless formed the starting-point for their belief in their spiritual endowment, they yet do not ascribe them to the activity of the Spirit, no doubt because they believed that the Spirit came only after the ascension of Jesus.

[41] See Hermetic Corpus, I, 26; Reitzenstein, Die Hellen. Myster. Relig., pp. 113-4. Also Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, ch. 9, where the idea of the attainment of immortality through enlightenment and union with the deity as held by the so-called religions of redemption is presented. An extended and valuable bibliography on this subject will also be found in the footnotes to the chapter. It might be noted however that immortality was also a part of the thought-world of late Judaism, but this may have been due to Hellenistic influences (Wis. 2:22, 23; 3:4, 14, 15; 5:15 ff; 8:13, 17).

[42] Mark 6:7 ff.; cf. Luke 10:17-20.

[43] See especially Matthew 28:19, 20; Luke 24: 47-49.

[44] Mark 13:11; Luke 12:12; cf. Luke 21:15.

It should be noticed in passing that the idea of the Synoptists too as to what benefit the disciples derived from Spirit-possession arose from their experiences or from the conceptions which prevailed in the Church of their day regarding the kind of help which they thought they needed from the Spirit. When these Gospels were written, it is evident that the exorcism of demons, the healing of the sick, and the preaching of the gospel were the main activities of the Christians. And they were meeting with opposition and hostility in their efforts to propagate their cult teachings and practices. It was along these lines that the Spirit-activities manifested themselves, and it was also for these purposes that the need of the Spirit's help was felt. They got the kind of help that they were looking and hoping for.

The author of Acts continues the same thought of the benefit of the Spirit which he presented in his Gospel. The Spirit benefited the Christians in that it gave them power to perform miracles, to see visions, and to prophesy. But the advantage of having the Spirit lay chiefly in the help it gave to the Christians in their missionary work. It filled them with unlooked-for boldness and courage in the preaching of the gospel; it acted as a speaker in time of their defence before rulers; it guided them in their plans of work and was the evidence for the sanction of the Gentile mission.[45] The enthusiasm and joy which characterized the early Church and which doubtless formed one of the chief reasons why the disciples came to think of themselves as spiritually endowed, were attributed to the Spirit.[46] The Spirit then was chiefly valuable for the help it afforded the furtherance of the cult; and this, namely, the spread of Christianity from the Jewish to the Gentile world and its expansion from a national to a universal type of religion, was what the author wanted to depict. This expansive movement was of such an extraordinary nature that it could not be accounted for except on the basis of the guidance and coöperation of the Spirit.

The author in a negative way shows that the possession of the Spirit did not bring any material or financial reward. The Spirit was worth more than silver or gold, yet could not be obtained by lucre.[47] It furthermore was opposed to covetousness;[48] in fact it made men depre-

[45] Acts 4:31; 4:8; 15:28; 16:6, 7; 10:44; 11:15 ff. The Holy Spirit was regarded as especially active in the choice of leaders (13:2; 20:28).

[46] Acts 2:46; 5:41; 8:8. In this the author of Acts follows Paul who also connects joy with spiritual endowment (Rom. 14:17; Gal. 5:22; I Thess. 1:6). See also John 15:11; 16:20 ff.

[47] Acts 3:6; 8:19 ff.

[48] Acts 5:1 ff.

ciate the value of the things they possessed.[49] One wonders whether the author was not endeavoring to answer the charge that was perhaps brought against the Christian teachers and leaders of his day, namely, that like the Cynic and Stoic teachers they were seeking remuneration for their inspired services.[50]

The author of Hebrews pictures the present advantages of the Spirit partly in terms of the popular conceptions[51] and partly in terms of an abiding relationship with God.[52] Pauline influence or resemblance is seen in the author's belief that ordinarily the possession of the Spirit was permanent and that the present endowment of the Spirit was merely a foretaste of the future life.[53] As a rule the author states the benefits of Spirit-possession in the terminology of the old Jewish dispensation. A new convenant was established between God and the believer, a covenant of grace, written not on tablets of stone but on the hearts and minds of men; and by virtue of this covenant the believer had free and direct access to the throne of God.[54] The Spirit was the medium through which this covenant was revealed.[55] As for the future the author held out to the believer the idea of a Sabbath rest or of an eternal inheritance, which was the Jewish way of expressing the conception of eternal life.[56] And yet the notion of the Spirit as being the revealer of divine truth, and of the believer as being illumined by the Spirit,[57] evinces an acquaintance on the part of the author with Gentile thought, and particularly with that of the Gnostic type.

In Revelation the author, of course, so far as his own Spirit-endowment was concerned, believed that the power of ecstatic vision and of prophecy was the chief benefit. The Spirit was speaking through him and thus revealing the divine will.[57a] He was equipped in this way to be a witness of Jesus: "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of

[49] Acts 4:32.

[50] Paul evidently was trying to avoid having this charge brought up against him (II Cor. 11:7 ff. I Cor. 9:18 ff.), and this was doubtless the reason why he refused to take support from his churches, preferring to work for his own livelihood.

[51] Heb. 2:4.

[52] Heb. 10:15 ff.

[53] Heb. 6:4-6.

[54] Heb. 10:19 ff.

[55] Heb. 9:8; 10:15.

[56] Heb. 4:9; 9:15.

[57] Heb. 6:4; 10:32.

[57a] Rev. 1:10; 2:7; 4:2; 21:10. It should be noticed that the Apocalyptist receives his knowledge or revelation by the ascent of his soul to heaven. This, of course, was

prophecy."[58] But so far as the benefits derived by the believer were concerned, the author conceives of these as accruing chiefly to the future life of the believer when he through obedience to the message which the Spirit was revealing by the mouth of the Apocalyptist,[59] through his overcoming in this life the evil forces around him,[60] and through his faithfulness amidst the corruption and persecution of this world[61] should become a partaker of the blessings of the Messianic age. The author could offer very little satisfaction and comfort to the believer in this present world because he was writing at a time when the Christians were under severe persecution. The blessings which he denotes are in part: partaking of the fruit of the tree of life; receiving the crown of life; escape from the second death; eating hidden manna; the gift of a new name; authority over the nations and the gift of the morning star, Jesus; the privilege of being clothed in white garments, of having one's name in the book of life and of having this name confessed by the Son before the Father and his angels, of being made a pillar in the temple of God, of having the name of God, of the new Jerusalem, and of the Son written upon him, of having fellowship with Christ, of reigning with him on a throne, of drinking of the water of life, of being granted divine sonship, and of entrance into the Holy City.[62] These blessings accord with the author's notion of salvation, and evince not only an acquaintance on his part with the Messianic ideas of the age, but an influence particularly of astrological conceptions upon his thinking.[63]

In the Johannine literature the stress is placed upon the intellectual rather than the emotional values of Spirit-possession. The thing that was of importance to the Johannine circle of Christians was not an emotional experience, but the satisfaction of a thirst for divine knowl-

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in general accord with Jewish Apocalyptic ideas. And yet, since in other ways the author of Revelation shows the influence of astrological notions, it may very well be that his ecstasy had some relation to the idea revealed in the Hermetic literature that since none of the deified heavenly bodies could leave heaven, the soul had to go up to heaven to receive divine knowledge (Hermes Trismegistos, X, 25; Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 138).

[58] Rev. 19:10.

[59] Rev. 2:7 *et al.*

[60] Rev. 2:17 *et al.*

[61] Rev. 3:10 *et al.*

[62] References to these benefits will be found in the following passages: Rev. 2:7, 10, 11; 20:6-14; 21:8; 2:17, 27, 28; 22:16; 3:5 (cf. Hermas, Sim. 9:13); 3:12, 20, 21; 20:4; 21:6, 7, 27.

[63] See Boll, Aus der Offenbarung Johannis, pp. 2 ff.

edge, a knowledge that would bring them truth, life, light and freedom. The chief benefit of the Spirit was a gnosis, the possession of which was considered necessary for salvation.[64] The Spirit is here conceived of as the Spirit of truth, because he is the revealer of the true gnosis,[65] and would guide the disciples into a right understanding of the significance of Jesus' person and saving work.[66] The one who possessed this gnosis was bound in a mystic union to the heavenly Christ and became as it were the embodiment of this divine being.[67] But the Spirit is also the life-giver, and hence the acquiring of eternal life, which according to John begins here and now, is one of the benefits of the possession of the Spirit.[68] This life comes as a result of faith in the divine message revealed by the Logos and means that those who receive this revelation are sons of God, born of the Spirit to become, not slaves of darkness and ignorance, but children of freedom and light.[69] And this sonship besides implying the possession of freedom involves also the ethical attitude of love and sympathy toward one's brethren.[70] Thus we see that such words as knowledge, life, truth, freedom, love, represent what the Johannine books regard as the benefits of Spirit-possession, at least in so far as present salvation is concerned.

But the endowment of the Spirit also had a value, according to John, for the work of Christian propaganda. It is the Spirit through whom the believer will convict the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment.[71] In time of trouble and persecution the Christians will have in the Spirit a Comforter in their hearts and an Advocate before the Father.[72] He would aid them in the bearing of their testimony and would take the place of Jesus after his departure.[73]

[64] The mistake should not be made of thinking that gnosis meant to the people of that age a body of knowledge derived from the exercise of the normal rational faculties. Both the Gnostics and the Christians thought of gnosis as knowledge that was revealed by a divine being from heaven.

[65] John 14:17; 15:26; I John 4:6; 5:6.

[66] John 16:13.

[67] John 15:4; I John 2:14, 28.

[68] John 4:14; 6:63. Cf. I Pet. 3:18.

[69] John 6:33; 1:13; 8:35, 36, 47; 12:36.

[70] John 13:34; I John 3:10; 4:7-5:3.

[71] John 16:8.

[72] John 16:32, 33; 14:16; I John 2:1. This idea is also found in Paul, it should be noticed (Rom. 8:26-7).

[73] John 15:26, 27; 16:7. The failure of the Messiah to appear upon the clouds as the early Christians had expected, led to a spiritualizing of the Messianic concep-

As for future blessings accruing to Spirit-possession, the author gives assurance to the believer of victory over death and of a firm hope of immortality.[74] Jesus is the resurrection and the life, and the one who is joined with him shall partake of his life.[75] The heavenly Christ has gone on before to heaven, and the soul of the believer will ascend to the mansions which the heavenly Christ has prepared, conducted safely thither through the spheres by him or by the Spirit who is his representative or proxy.[76] In heaven the believer will behold the glory of Christ, thus continuing the enlightened state and the communion with the Lord which he had enjoyed on earth.[77]

Even a superficial investigation of these Johannine ideas reveals the fact at once that there is a connection here with Gnostic notions. The prominence given to such ideas as truth, sonship, light, a divinely revealed gnosis, etc., and the conception of the soul's ascent to heaven are clear indications that the writer was familiar with the Gnostic idea of salvation.[78]

A few general observations might be made here with reference to the subject of this chapter:

1. In the first place, the early Christians' conception of the benefits which they believed they received as a result of their Spirit-endowment was conditioned by the nature of their emotional experiences and by their ideas as to the content of salvation. If their emotional experiences were sporadic, their idea of the benefit received from the Spirit would be of a like character. If however they felt that a permanent change had come into their lives, they would interpret the benefit of Spirit-

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tion, and the author of John conceives of the Spirit as the representative of the Messiah come to take his place.

[74] John 11:23-26.

[75] John 6:22-65; 15:1 ff

[76] John 14:2, 3.

[77] John 17:24.

[78] On Gnostic ideas see Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, pp. 326 ff. and the authorities cited there. Foucart, Encyc. of Relig. and Eth., art., "Demons and Spirits (Egyptian)," describes the magical and other precautions which the Egyptians took in order to secure the safe passage of the soul to the other world. Porphyry (Stobaeus, Eclogues, II, p. 171) describes the soul's ascent through the seven spheres. Dieterich (Eine Mithrasliturgie, p. 199) asserts that every philosopher and religious thinker in the Greek world since Plato, who believed in the immortality of the soul, spoke of the soul's ascent to heaven. See also his Abraxas, pp. 43 ff. on the 7 archons of the Gnostic system. For the idea of the soul's ascent to heaven in the mysteries see Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römisch. Kultur, pp. 170-6.

possession likewise as something that was abiding and continuous. And so it was with their ideas as to what constituted salvation. If they were Jews and believed that salvation consisted in the forgiveness of sins and membership in the Messianic kingdom, of course, they would believe that that was what the endowment of the Spirit would secure for them. But if they were Greeks and believed that an immortal life of bliss through union with the deity constituted salvation, then to their minds this would be the benefit derived from a possession of the Spirit of the deity. Whenever pneumatic conditions arose, they believed that they thereby obtained salvation, and they got the kind of salvation for which they were looking.

2. In the second place, the benefits which the Christians claimed to have received from the Spirit were all in some way connected with the heavenly Christ.[79] It was natural, since the ecstatic conditions attributed to Spirit-activities usually followed upon a profession of faith in the heavenly Lord Jesus and baptism in his name, that the benefits thought to be derived from these activities should be ascribed to the power of the heavenly Christ, who however because of his exalted position could act and work in the world only through his Spirit or double.[80] And hence when these ecstatic conditions arose, the Christians interpreted their origin and cause to be due to the presence of some of Christ's spirit-substance in them or to the influence of his personal Spirit upon them.[81] They thought that a new element had been added to

[79] Christ is represented as possessing the Spirit and dispensing it (Acts 2:33; 14:3; Rev. 1:1, John 20:22; Tit. 3:6; Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:9; I Cor. 2:16; 12:3). He is for Paul the source of his spiritual endowment (I Cor. 1:24; 3:5; II Cor. 12:1; 13:3, 4; Gal. 1:1; Rom. 15:18 f.), and of the strength of his moral life and conduct (I Cor. 1:9; Rom. 12:5; Col. 3:11).

[80] It might be objected with a show of reason that some of the benefits discussed above were thought to have been derived directly from Christ; the Spirit had nothing to do with them. But when we take into account the ideas which were current at the time regarding doubles, and the loose way in which the writers of the New Testament often speak of Christ and the Spirit, seemingly at times making no distinctions between them, in fact, practically identifying them (II Cor. 3:17, 18; John 14:18; 16:16; I Cor. 15:45; Ign. Mag. 15; Herm. Sim. 9, 1) and often ascribing the same functions to both (I Cor. 6:11; Rom. 8:10, 11), we are justified in holding that as a rule the activities ascribed to Christ may without any misrepresentation of the writer's thought be attributed to his Spirit as well. We might even go a step further and say that perhaps these activities *should* be regarded as due to the agency of the Spirit.

[81] It is doubtful whether the Spirit is ever conceived of by the New Testament writers in a purely abstract way. The people of that age with the exception perhaps of some philosophers always thought of spirit as being composed of a very fine grade of matter, stuff or *fluidum*, something resembling the constituency of fire, air or wind.

their lives; there was an insert of divine substance or of a divine personalized spirit into their beings.[82] This substance or spirit came from the heavenly body of Christ and became a supplement to the natural powers of the believer, aiding him to attain salvation. The

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This was clearly the belief of the Stoics, who claimed that the soul differed from the deity not in essence, but merely in the degree of the fineness of the matter from which they were composed (Cic., Tusc. Disp., I, 43, 18; Apul., De Deo Socr., 11, 144; Plut., Why the Orac. Cease, 13). Philo believed that spirit was like air flowing upon the earth (De Gigan., 5). For the Jewish view of spirit as *fluidum* see Volz, Der Geist Gottes, *passim*. That the New Testament writers thought of the Spirit as consisting of fine matter is seen in the terms: "dividing of tongues" (Acts 2:3), baptism "with fire" (Matthew 3:11), "breathing on of the Spirit" (John 20:22), "pouring forth of the Spirit" (Acts 2:33), "to be filled with the Spirit" (Acts 4:8), etc., which they employed in speaking of the impartation of the Spirit. It is also seen in the custom of the laying on of hands (Acts 8:17-19; 9:17), in the conception underlying the transfiguration of Christ (Luke 9:27; cf. 13:28; 21:27; 22:16, 18, 30; Matthew 13:43; 20:21), and in the belief in the objective reality of apparitions and vision-appearances. Paul's idea of the future glorious body is no doubt that of a body composed of a very fine grade of matter (I Cor. 15:44). A passage bearing on this early Christian idea of spirit is found in Theophilus, Ad Autol., II, 13, where he says: "The Spirit is fine, and the water is fine, so that the Spirit may nourish the water and the water, penetrating everywhere along with the Spirit, may nourish creation." See also on this subject Gunkel, Die Wirkungen u.s.w., pp. 43-9.

The Spirit however was also thought of in terms of personality, as is clear from the attribution to the Spirit of such functions as teaching, guiding, interceding, groaning, witnessing, convincing, judging, etc. (See also Matthew 4:1). This personal idea of the Spirit is especially prominent in the Pauline and Johannine books, but even here a materialistic conception of the Spirit may not altogether be absent. The thought of a personal spirit as being constituted of a fine substance was not foreign to the thought of their day. Even the passage in Luke 24:39 may indicate no more than that the risen body of Jesus was regarded as composed of a finer substance than that of an ordinary human body of flesh and bones. In this connection one should be careful not to confuse the Spirit with angels, for the Spirit is never identified with an angel in the New Testament. There is in the New Testament no one angel of God; there are many angels who act as his, or the Messiah's ministering servants and even perform some of the functions of the Spirit. But the Spirit and angels are regarded as different beings.

[82] It is easy enough, granting the penetrability of one material substance by another, which was the view held by the people of New Testament times, to understand what was meant by them when they said that they were possessed by the Spirit, or that the Spirit was in them. But the term, to be in the Spirit, seems to have a different connotation. A probable explanation of the meaning of this phrase is that the spiritual substance or personal spirit is thought of as being of too great a quantity or size to admit of its entering completely into the body of a human being; hence the thought is that part of it at least simply remains outside and around the body, and the body is, as it were, clothed, immersed, or submerged in the divine substance.

Christians were dualists in their world-view, and differed especially from the Stoics in their conception as to the need of a divine insert from without in addition to a man's natural faculties of mind for the attainment of salvation. The Stoics believed that a man could obtain salvation by the cultivating and perfecting of the innate powers of his soul, which were essentially divine.[83] But the thing that secured salvation according to the Christian view was the presence of this divine element in their souls, namely, the Spirit of Christ. And it is for this reason that Christianity is to be classed with the religions of redemption.

3. And finally, the endowment of the Spirit had a value for the cult as well as for the individual believer. One might say that the success of Christianity in the first century depended very largely upon its pneumatic activities and advantages. There was such an enthusiasm and joy, such a confidence in their power over sin and death, such an assurance of salvation among the Christians, that no rival religion could compete with them. They could meet the competition of the Jew by claiming that it was the endowment of the Spirit, which came as a result of faith, not the keeping of the law, that constituted and brought salvation. And as for the Gentile, the emotional experiences which they interpreted as the work of the Spirit, the mystic union of the believer with Christ through the possession of his Spirit, and the promise of eternal life, all of which the Christians claimed they obtained as a result of their faith in the heavenly Christ, could satisfy his religious need as well as the practices and teachings of any of the other religions and cults of the day. In fact, Christianity could outdo its competitors because it united in itself so many elements of strength,—the chief one of which was doubtless the endowment of the Spirit,—and because it could appeal to a real historical personage who had exemplified in his career the life of the Spirit. Whereas many of the cults of the day could resort merely to abstract notions and principles, the Christians appealed to a concrete historical personality as the one who had through his possession of the Spirit brought salvation to the world and had by virtue of his greatness and power and exemplary life been exalted to a place next the Supreme Deity himself. It is with the conception of the Christians regarding the Spirit-endowment of this individual that we have next to do.

[83] See Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, pp. 343 f.

CHAPTER VI

Jesus as Pneumatikos

For the first group of Jesus' followers, who early had come to identify him with the Apocalyptic Messiah, the earthly career of Jesus did not seem to possess any supreme significance. They were interested chiefly in the heavenly Christ from whom they believed that they were receiving their present spiritual endowment and through whom they hoped to receive their future salvation. Of course, they always conceived of Jesus and the heavenly Christ as the same person; yet the unique importance which the latter had, as they thought, in their attainment of salvation, and the centering of their hopes upon the future, the near future indeed, as the time for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom and for their deliverance from sin and Satan, almost completely overshadowed their interest in the earthly life of Jesus. The almost negligible use which Paul made of the traditions concerning the words and deeds of Jesus indicates that in his time, at least in the circles which he served, the emphasis was not upon Jesus' earthly activity. With him the death, resurrection and exhaltation of Jesus alone were of chief importance.

However, various forces and influences were brought to bear upon the Christians that made them pay greater attention to Jesus' earthly life.[1] The Jewish interest in preserving the words of a great teacher, the deep impress which the life and personality of Jesus had made upon his immediate followers, the need of the Christian organization for an authoritative body of teachings of its own, the miracle-loving disposition of the people of that age, all tended to stimulate a greater interest in the teachings and deeds of Jesus. But there was one influence in particular which because of its relevance to our subject should be mentioned here, and that was the need which the Christians felt of reconciling the picture which they had drawn of the heavenly Christ with the actual life of simplicity and humble service which Jesus had led while upon earth. They were brought face to face with the task of showing that already in his earthly career Jesus had given evidence of his Messianic power and divine personality, and that his work and character while he lived among men was in accord with their conception of the exalted

[1] Cf. Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, pp. 355 ff.

Christ. And they had further to demonstrate the fact that the earthly life of Jesus was of such a nature as to make him worthy of the office either of the Messiah or of the Savior. To accomplish this feat they of necessity had to read back into Jesus' earthly life the notions which they had of the heavenly Lord Jesus. Hence it may be said that current ideas regarding the Apocalyptic Messiah of the Jews and the savior-gods of the Gentiles had much to do with their new portrait of the earthly life and character of Jesus.

We might with propriety call this process in the evolution of early Christian thought the myth-stage, for it must have taken place after the first spontaneous ebullition of joy and enthusiasm had somewhat cooled down and the Christians had begun to reflect upon the meaning of Jesus' life, and hence to form the myth of the cult. Paul's seeming lack of interest in Jesus' earthly career may have been due, at least in part, to the fact that he was still living in the time when the Christian life was the life of the Spirit; the period of reflection had not yet fully come.[2]

Two considerations should further be made with regard to the reason why the early Christians interpreted the earthly life of Jesus in just the way they did. (1) In the first place their Spirit-endowment entered in as a determining factor in their idea of the earthly Jesus. Since they believed that the Spirit which was active in them had come from the heavenly Christ, and identified this heavenly Christ with Jesus, they of course thought that the Spirit that worked in Jesus was the same that was working in them. Hence they concluded that the spiritual gifts and activities of Jesus while upon earth corresponded with those that prevailed in the churches of their day. If in any church or Christian community the spiritual gift of exorcism, for example, was prevalent, it was natural for the members of that group to regard this as one of the gifts that Jesus also had possessed. If the members were given to prophecy, they would think of this as one of the activities of Jesus, since he was possessed of the same Spirit as they.[3] What the Spirit of Christ did in them they thought it did also in Jesus.

(2) Their thought of Jesus' earthly life was also conditioned by their idea of salvation. Of course, they did not believe that Jesus

[2] Notice that it is chiefly in the later letters of Paul that he refers to Jesus' earthly life and sojourn (Phil. 2:5 ff.; Col. 1:14 ff.), but even here the emphasis is upon the exalted Christ and his cosmic functions.

[3] This does not mean that the Christians necessarily manufactured stories regarding the life of Jesus to correspond with what they judged from their pneumatic

needed salvation; that never once entered their minds. But their conception of salvation did have an effect upon the emphasis which they placed on the Messianic and redemptive significance of the earthly Jesus. When at the beginning of the movement salvation was considered chiefly as a matter of the future, the emphasis fell upon the Apocalyptic idea of the heavenly Christ who would come as the future Messiah and deliverer. But later when the Messiah delayed his coming and the idea of a present salvation came to prevail, of course the stress was then placed upon the earthly life and work of Jesus. The Christians were not willing to be cheated out of salvation. So they advanced the claim that Jesus had performed and completed his Messianic work while still on earth. The revelation which he had brought was sufficient to save now, especially in view of the fact that he had left his Spirit behind to aid the believer in the attainment of this salvation. We will notice as we proceed with our investigation that this was the problem that particularly concerned the author of the fourth Gospel.

In this chapter we have to do with the Spirit-endowment of Jesus while he was on earth. And we are concerned here primarily with the interpretations which the authors of the New Testament books placed upon his personality, not with the conception of Jesus himself nor that of his contemporaries regarding his relation to the Spirit. For the latter, in view of the fact that the writers of the Gospels assign statements to Jesus and to the people around him which doubtless arose as a result of the development of the Christian tradition and myth, presents a problem so intricate and involved as to prevent a full discussion here. Suffice it to say, however, that there can be little reason for doubting that Jesus was fully convinced of his own possession of the Spirit. If the story of his first preaching at Nazareth[4] is at all true to the facts, Jesus must at least have classed himself with the prophets and must have felt the call by the Spirit of God to preach and to heal as the seers of the Old Testament also had done. When he is accused by the people for casting out demons by the power of Satan, he resents the charge, and claims that he was inspired by a beneficent

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experiences he must have done. That, of course, may have occurred. But it does mean that the pneumatic experiences of the Christians had much to do with regard to the kind of traditional material which they decided to choose and preserve, as well as with the interpretation which they put upon it.

[4] Luke 4:16-30. Since Luke here uses a source that is doubtless early and gives a representation of Jesus that accords with the Jewish conception of a prophet, we have no reason for supposing that the account is not true to the actual situation.

spirit.[5] This too may indicate that he ascribed the power by which he healed the sick and cast out demons to the presence of the Spirit of God in him.

The estimate which Jesus' contemporaries placed upon his person and work can scarcely be discovered from the Gospel narratives. His relatives are represented as thinking that he was mad.[6] Herod is said to have thought that he was the ghost or transmigrated soul of John the Baptist; others thought that he was Elijah returned to earth, while still others regarded him simply as a prophet.[7] But here again we are unable to tell whether these ideas were really held by these contemporaries of Jesus or whether they were only the sentiments of Mark, ascribed to the people either by him or by his source. Nevertheless one can safely say that the impression of the personality of Jesus upon the people about him must have been so striking that they would surely have attributed the possession of the Spirit to him. In order to account for the rise of the Christian movement and for its connection with the name of Jesus, one can not avoid the necessity of postulating a deep and abiding impression made by Jesus upon his followers. To make such an impression required a forceful personality. And in those days the possession of extraordinary powers and qualities was always ascribed to spiritual or demonic agency. It may be taken for granted therefore that both Jesus and his followers agreed in maintaining his possession of the Spirit of God.

When we turn to the question as to what the early Christians, and particularly the authors of our New Testament books, thought of the spiritual power in Jesus' life, we feel surer of the results of our investigation, for this is a matter which at least some of the writers were especially anxious to emphasize.

Beginning with Paul, we find that, as we have already intimated, he was not concerned so much with the manifestation of the power of the Spirit in the earthly career of Jesus as with the Messianic and redemptive functions of the heavenly Christ. The earthly Jesus, according to Paul's way of thinking, was simply the incarnation of a divine cosmic being. He was the manifestation in human form of an

[5] Mark 3:23-30. The statement that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is unpardonable may however be the reflection of a later age and may represent the idea of Mark rather than that of Jesus.

[6] Mark 3:21. The use of the word, ἐξέστη, in this connection would point to the idea of Spirit-possession.

[7] Mark 6:14, 15.

eternal Christ-spirit, who before his appearance upon earth lived in heaven, perhaps next to God in rank.[8] This being was God's εἰκών and was the first to be born of all created things. That is, he was the Son of God.[9] God then made use of him as his agent in the creation of the world; and Paul asserts that not only all visible things were created through him, but all the invisible powers of the heaven and earth as well.[10] Of all the beings in heaven, on the earth, and in the underworld he is pre-eminent, and he functions as the sustainer of the universe.[11] He not only stands closest to God in relative position but is nearest to him in substance or form.

Although Paul nowhere calls this being the Logos, he might just as well have used this term, for the functions of his cosmic being and those of the Logos, as they were conceived of by the people of his day, were to a large extent quite similar. However he prefers to use the terms, image of God's substance, and Son of God. The reason for this preference was doubtless because his Jewish conceptions still played a large part in his thinking. Logos was a Greek and Gentile notion; Son of God was a term understood by both Jews and Greeks.[12] And perhaps Paul's belief that Spirit-endowment meant power rather than knowledge made him reticent in the use of the word, Logos, which had such a close relation with gnosis. Furthermore, the fact that authority rather than divine nature was uppermost in Paul's thought of Christ would also have an influence in determining his preference for the title, Son of God.

The earthly Jesus he then conceives of as the Son of God, because a divine entity had come down from heaven and had become incarnate in him. The body of the one chosen to be the embodiment of this heavenly being was that of a descendant of the royal Davidic line and a

[8] Phil. 2:5 ff. The demons were regarded in Greek thought as desiring to become gods. But Paul represents the pre-existent Christ-spirit as giving up his ambitious desire for deification and coming down to the earth in obedience to his spirit of humility and service. The attainment of a position or rank on an equality with the Supreme Deity was in his grasp, but he preferred to serve rather than to be deified.

[9] It should be remembered that, although Paul speaks of Christ as the second or ideal man (I Cor. 15:45-47; Rom. 5:14), yet he never refers to him as the Son of Man. The reason for this is that he, while recognizing the Davidic descent of Jesus (Rom. 1:3; 9:5), nevertheless holds to the idea that the Messiah was a pre-existent heavenly being. The physical descent of the Messiah was a matter of small moment. He was the Apocalyptic, not the Davidic or national Messiah.

[10] Col. 1:1-16.

[11] Col. 1:17.

[12] See Pfleiderer, Ear. Xtian. Concep. of Xst, ch. 1, who shows what ideas prevailed among both Jews and Greeks in New Testament times regarding divine Sonship.

member of the chosen race of Israel.[13] His life upon earth was of significance, in the first place, because it furnished an example of obedience, humility and love;[14] in the second place and chiefly because his death, resurrection and exaltation put him in the class of dying and rising gods and made it possible for the believer to effect a union with the deity. His earthly life of obedience and the holy type of character which he manifested here was the proof that he was worthy to be exalted to divine Sonship.[15] The descent of this heavenly being to earth was undertaken primarily that by his death, resurrection and exaltation he might reconcile the world to God.[16] Paul's interest then in the earthly Jesus was subsidiary to his interest in the heavenly Christ. And this was due no doubt to his idea of salvation, which he regarded partly, if not chiefly, as a matter of the future, and to his notion of the Spirit which he thought came from the heavenly Christ.

When we inquire as to the reason why Paul applied such an interpretation to the person and work of the earthly Jesus, we will doubtless find the proper solution in Paul's interpretation of his own pneumatic experiences. He believed that a divine being or spirit had come down from heaven and had taken possession of his body. This divine entity in him was the cause for certain ecstatic conditions which he himself was experiencing, such as the seeing of visions, the speaking with tongues, etc.; but it was also responsible for a much more important fact in his life, namely, the power of his moral life and conduct. The fruit of this possession was love and gentleness and faithfulness to duty and endurance in hardship. It was a permanent endowment and united him in an unbroken bond with his heavenly Lord, a union that would finally issue in his being taken up to heaven to live forever in joyful communion with him. Now this is the experience which Paul also supposed Jesus to have had while upon earth. He imagines him to have become possessed by a divine being from heaven, the Christ-spirit, or the image of God. This incarnation issued in a life of love, obedience, self-sacrifice and wisdom. This Spirit-endowment was, of course, a permanent matter, the heavenly being residing continually in the body of Jesus. After his death he was exalted to heaven and was now living there in close fellowship with God. That Paul was influenced in these ideas by the thought-world of his day goes without saying. We can see the re-

[13] Rom. 1:3; 9:5.
[14] Phil. 2:5 ff.; II Cor. 8:9.
[15] Phil. 2:8. 9; Rom. 1:4.
[16] Col. 1:20.

semblances between his picture of Jesus and the notions which the Jews had of the Apocalyptic Messiah and of Wisdom, and which the Greeks had of the Son of God and of the Logos. But the influence of these ideas upon his interpretation of the historical Jesus was doubtless indirect. They bore a direct influence first of all upon the interpretation which he put on his pneumatic experiences, as we endeavored to show in chapter three.[17] Their influence upon his thought of Jesus was only indirectly felt through the application of his conception of his Spirit-endowment to the interpretation of Jesus' personality.[18]

The non-Marcan sections found in Matthew and Luke portray Jesus as the great Teacher, as a prophet *par excellence*. He is of course the Messiah, for he is called the Son of Man,[19] and his works of power are indeed referred to.[20] But the emphasis is plainly put upon the prophetic function of the Messiah. He is called to preach glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, and to announce the coming of the day of the Lord. His teaching arouses the wonder and astonishment of the people.[21] And even the mighty deeds mentioned in these sections are all such as a prophet might be expected to perform. The endowment then which Jesus is thought to have had was the spirit of prophecy or teaching. To the authors of these sections the uniqueness of Jesus' personality lay in his power to teach, and this remarkable gift was accounted for by ascribing to Jesus the possession of the Spirit, the very Spirit which the Messiah was supposed to receive.[22]

This emphasis upon the teaching of Jesus was doubtless occasioned by the admiration which his followers felt for his words and utterances; but the need which the early Christians must soon have felt for an authoritative body of teachings may have acted also as a spur to the collection of the sayings of Jesus. Likewise the presence of prophets and

[17] Ch. 3, pp. 72 ff.

[18] This method of explaining how Paul came to interpret Jesus' person in the way he did, does not mean that Paul regarded himself on an equality with Jesus as a pneumatic person. Christ was over all, and though Paul expected to be with him in heaven and to reign with him, he nevertheless never hoped to be exalted to the position of power and dignity to which Jesus had attained.

[19] See for example Matthew 10:23; 11:19; 13:37; and Luke 6:22, 34; 11:30; 17:22 ff.; 19:10.

[20] Matthew 11:2-6; Luke 4:18. Notice also the miracles that are recorded in the sections peculiar to Matthew and Luke, which deal with Jesus' early Galilean and Perean activities.

[21] Matthew 7:28, 29.

[22] Is. 29:18, 19; 35:5, 6; 61:1. Cf. Matthew 11:2 ff.; Luke 4:16 ff.

teachers in the early Christian communities, and the influence and respect which noted teachers won in those days, must have been factors too in the bringing of the teaching function of Jesus to the forefront, at least in certain circles.

It is quite possible that Jesus as a prophet regarded himself as possessed by the Spirit of the Lord, and if so, the picture of him in these non-Marcan sections must in the main be genuine. But one can easily see how, since the early Christian prophets and teachers believed in their own inspiration, they should ascribe the same power and endowment to the earthly Jesus. Since the Spirit of the heavenly Christ which was in them caused them to preach and to teach, the natural presupposition was that this same Spirit was also active in the earthly Jesus, for he had the same kind of divine substance in him as they now possessed.

In Mark we find quite a different conception of the Spirit's activity in Jesus. He is here not so much a teacher as he is a wonder-worker. As the Messiah he plays the role of the conqueror of Satan and his demons rather than that of the prophet. In both Matthew and Mark Jesus is said to have taught with authority.[23] But with the former the authority lay in the power of his words, while with the latter the authority consisted in the power to cast out demons.[24] The first thing then which the Spirit in Jesus meant to the author of Mark was to give him the power over Satan and the demons.[25] Jesus' Spirit-life is viewed as beginning with his baptism, when the Spirit is thought to have descended upon him in the form of a dove. And this forms also the beginning of Jesus' Messianic office, for he is at this time proclaimed the Son of God.[26] Immediately the power of the Spirit was manifested in his life in that he was able to withstand the temptations of Satan in the wilderness. While he was there the angels ministered to him, a sign that he was greater than Elijah who was cared for only by the birds of the air. Jesus then began preaching in Galilee, but the thing that impressed the people was not his words, but the power which he had over evil spirits.

[23] Matthew 7:28, 29; Mark 1:22.

[24] Cf. Mark 1:22 with the verses that follow, especially vs. 27.

[25] The conception of the deity as Lord of spirits was widely current in ancient times. See Tylor, Prim. Cult., pp. 308 ff. In the volume of Oxyrrhyncus Papyri recently published by Grenfell and Hunt is a reference (Pap. No. 1380) in which Isis is called the ruler of spirits.

[26] Mark 1:9 ff.

Jesus is also pictured by Mark as a wonder-worker. The exorcism of demons was of course a part of his miracle-working, but besides this exhibition of his power, he healed the sick, raised the dead, fed the multitude, walked on the water, foretold his death and resurrection as well as his coming again on the clouds, caused a fig tree to wither, etc. He does nothing that can justify his enemies in putting him to death. His remarkable personality manifests itself in the transfiguration of his body, and his power over death is seen in his resurrection from the dead. His miraculous activity is interpreted in various ways by the people around him. His relatives think him to be mad; Herod regards him as John raised from the dead; some think that he is Elijah, or one of the other prophets, returned to earth; his enemies ascribe his supernatural power to the agency of Satan. But the demon-possessed, who because of the presence of demons in them were supposed to have supernatural knowledge, recognized what the others were unable to see, namely, that Jesus was the Messiah.[27] This is also the conclusion to which those most closely associated with him came as to his remarkable deeds and person.[28]

Now there are several things to notice with regard to this Marcan picture of the Spirit working in Jesus: (1) the author is evidently influenced in his thought of Jesus by the conceptions which he and his contemporaries had with regard to pneumatic conditions. Just as a Christian got possession of the Spirit at baptism, so Jesus is viewed as receiving his spiritual endowment on this occasion. Again, the circle of Christians to whom Mark belonged, doubtless possessed the power of exorcising demons, healing the sick, and foretelling events; in fact, must have been exercising most of those gifts which were considered operations of the Spirit according to the popular conceptions.[29] So our author naturally inferred that these same Spirit-activities played a part in the life of Jesus.

(2) His thought of Jesus is also affected by his idea of salvation. He evidently believed that salvation consisted in getting rid of Satan and the demons. And this conquering of evil spirits he does not reserve entirely for the future work of the Messiah; it is a matter which he regards as a part of a man's present salvation. Hence he pictures Jesus as already exercising his Messianic authority over the demons during his earthly career, and as being conscious even before his death of his

[27] Mark 3:11; 5:7.
[28] Mark 8:29.
[29] Mark 6:7, 13; 9:38 ff.

Messianic office.[30] Since Jesus exhibited this power while upon earth a man was not under the necessity of waiting until the future coming o the Messiah before he could obtain deliverance. This was no d ubt one of the causes for Mark reading back into the life of Jesus ideas which prevailed in his day. And his motive must have been a practical one, namely, to minister to the religious needs of his time. When we remember how the common people of that day were bound by superstitious fear and dread of the demons whom they supposed to be constantly surrounding them to do them injury, we may realize how the gospel of a demon-conquering Savior must have come to them as a boon of priceless value.

(3) Mark's conception of Jesus is also influenced by current notions of the Messiah. Although the people proclaimed him to be the Messiah of Davidic descent,[31] Mark is clear in stating that Jesus is the Son of Man who should come on the clouds of heaven,[32] and even has Jesus refuse to be called other than the *Lord* of David.[33] The picture which Mark gives then of Jesus' earthly life accords with the Apocalyptic, not with the national view of the Messiah.

(4) And Mark shows also in his Gospel the tendency, which has characterized every age of the world's history, namely, the tendency to idealize the hero. There never was a hero who did not have his worshipper, and there never was a worshipper who did not have his tale. Jesus was Mark's hero. And whether the myths that grew up around the life history of Jesus were found in Mark's sources or were a product of his own pen, is not a matter of consequence. They are present in his work, and the only explanation which he could give as a man of his day for such a remarkable array of deeds and such an extraordinary personality as Jesus is said to have possessed, was to ascribe to him Messianic functions and power while he lived upon the earth; and, of course, this involved a belief in the Spirit-endowment of the man who could display such power as to make him worthy to be regarded as the Messiah and could assume such a dignified office.[34]

The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke havea yet more heightened conception than Mark of the personality of Jesus. His divine

[30] Mark 2:10; 9:9-13 *et al.*

[31] Mark 11:10.

[32] Mark 13:26; 14:62 *et al.*

[33] Mark 12:35-37.

[34] See Pfleiderer, Ear. Xtian Concep. of Xst, chs. 2 & 3, for parallels in other religious and philosophic systems to Mark's representation of Jesus.

Sonship is here viewed as being due to a divine birth. In Mark the conception of Jesus is that of the apotheosis of a man; the Spirit of God takes possession of him at maturity. According to the infancy narratives he is born the Son of God, the Holy Spirit being his Father, and the virgin Mary his mother. He is, as it were, a God-man. The divine element then was in his character from the very beginning of his human life.[35] The presence of this divine element in him was attested by the leaping of the unborn child of Elizabeth, by the homage paid to him as a child by shepherds and wise men, by the ministry of angelic beings who kept him from suffering harm, by the fact that his coming was recognized as the fulfillment of the Messianic hopes of the people, by the testimony of the prophets, Simeon and Anna, by his precocity, and by his consciousness of a divine call.

Whether these stories are connected with any definite pre-Christian legends is hard to prove; that they have very little historical fact as a basis may be taken for granted. They clearly belong to the type of myth-literature. The particular form in which the stories are related, and perhaps even their contents, may quite possibly have been derived from Buddhist, Persian, and Greek myths. But the idea of divine Sonship, which they depict, has its ultimate source in the conception which was quite universal in ancient times and has not yet disappeared, namely, that the extraordinary gifts and deeds of particular men must have a divine cause and must be due to a divine element in the human. The ascription of divine Sonship to the child Jesus then has its roots in the notions that were current in the time when Matthew and Luke were written or that at least made their influence felt when the Christian myth was being formed.[36]

It might be said however that the rivalry that doubtless existed between the John the Baptist cult and the Christians must have been

[35] It should be remarked that this conception of Jesus was the reason why Matthew represents John the Baptist as refusing to baptize Jesus. Since Jesus was the Son of God from birth, he had no need to be baptized (Matthew 3:13-17). But Matthew fails to reconcile completely his idea with Mark's account of the Spirit's descent at Jesus' baptism, and inserts the latter in spite of the fact that it is not in accord with the picture of Jesus in the infancy accounts. And yet it might be possible that Matthew thought that Jesus, even though he was the Son of God before his baptism, had need at certain times of a special endowment of the Spirit.

[36] On Buddhist legends regarding the childhood of Buddha, see Lalita Vistara, I, 78-88, 91-94, 115, 118-122. On Greek ideas of Virgin Birth see Jamblichus, De Vit. Pythag., ch. 2; Gellius, Noct. Att., 6, 1; Suet., Aug., 94; Origen, Cont. Cels., I, 37; Hippol., Philos., IX, 10; Epiph., Haer., XXX, 53; Diodorus, Hist., I, 2;

one of the motives for the writing of these infancy stories and for the heightening of the personality of Jesus hich they manifest. The Christians did not deny that John was spiritually endowed from birth, but they claimed that his birth did not possess the uniqueness of Jesus' birth. He had an ordinary man as his father and he did not have a virgin as his mother. The divine birth of Jesus implied that he had more of the divine element in him than John had, and sustained a closer relation to God. John was simply a Spirit-endowed prophet; Jesus was the Son of God.

The author of Acts says very little about the relation of Jesus to the Spirit during his earthly life. Nothing is said of his pre-existence, nor of his supernatural birth. The author is interested almost entirely in the exalted heavenly Christ, and the repeated references to Jesus' death and resurrection are made chiefly because they were the necessary preliminaries to his exaltation. We do have, however, a few passages that refer to Jesus' earthly career, and these agree in general with the representation which we find in the non-Marcan sources of Matthew and Luke. In these Jesus is a man "approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him in the midst of you."[37] He is the prophet which Moses foretold the Lord would raise up from among the people, like unto him, to whose message all were to hearken.[38] Perhaps the most significant passage is: "Even Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him."[39] Even after his resurrection Jesus is pictured as assuming the rôle of a prophet in forecasting the coming of the Spirit and in assigning to the apostles their work in the future.[40]

It is evident that the author thinks of Jesus chiefly as the future Messiah. His earthly life was one of beneficent deeds, helpful service and prophetic activity. He was above all the servant of God,[41] a con-

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IV, 8-39. And on the subject in general consult Petersen, Die wunderbare Geburt des Heilandes; Soltau, Die Geburtsgeschichte Jesu Christi; Pfleiderer, Ear. Xtian Concep. of Xst, ch. 1, pp. 29 ff.; Cheyne, Bible Problems, pp. 71 ff.; and Hartland, Legend of Perseus. See also Case, Evol. of Ear. Xty, ch. 7, for a discussion of the divine sonship of kings.

[37] Acts 2:22.

[38] Acts 3:22.

[39] Acts 10:38.

[40] Acts 1:2, 4, 8.

[41] Acts 3:13, 26; 4:30.

ception that resembles Paul's idea of the character of Jesus' career.[42] This earthly life, of course, was of such a nature as to win the approval of God, and became the reason for his exaltation to Messianic dignity and power.[43] So while he was on earth he performed the Messianic functions of a prophet: the deliverance of a divine message and the working of mighty deeds and wonders. He therefore in his earthly life was possessed of the spirit of prophecy, and this is taken to account for his remarkable message and deeds.

We might here also point out the relation which evidently existed between the author's ideas of Spirit-possession and salvation and his notion of the Spirit-endowment of the earthly Jesus. He had the popular notions regarding the operations of the Spirit; hence the Spirit-possession of Jesus was also of this type, that is, the sporadic endowment with power to prophesy and to perform miracles. Likewise his idea of salvation as being chiefly the enjoyment of the privileges and blessings of the future Messianic age, influenced him in placing the emphasis upon the heavenly and exalted Lord and Messiah, rather than upon the Messianic significance of his earthly life. And the fact that he had already dealt with the earthly Jesus in his Gospel might account for his seeming lack of interest in his earthly life in Acts.

The epistle to the Hebrews like Paul divides the career of Christ into three periods or stages of existence: his pre-existent life, his earthly sojourn, and his present exalted state. In his pre-existent life he was the Son of God and the agent of creation, to whom the Father entrusted all things, for he made him his heir. His being was constituted of divine substance and was the image of God. The light of God's glory shone forth from him. And he was the sustainer of the universe.[44] His coming to earth was evidently for two reasons: (1) to reveal the Father, for it was through him that God spoke, and (2) to make purification for the sins of men, which he accomplished by offering up his life to God as a sacrifice. During his earthly life he inhabited the human body of Jesus, but this assumption of human form involved limitations and a humiliation on his part, for he thereby was made lower than the angels.[45] However this affected only his rank, not his person or character, for he remained unspotted from sin.[46]

[42] Phil. 2:7.
[43] Acts 2:33-36; 5:31; 10:38 ff.
[44] Heb. 1:1-3.
[45] Heb. 2:9.
[46] Heb. 4:15.

The two things in the life of Jesus in which the author was particularly interested were his death and his sinlessness, the former bearing significance in the fact that it was a sacrifice for the sins of men, the latter being of importance because it made the offering of his life a perfect one and ensured its eternal efficacy. His sinlessness was attained not merely by virtue of his being God's Son, but through earnest prayers and supplications to God and through suffering.[47] It was through obedience even unto death that he was made perfect, a conception very similar to Paul's. The death of Jesus is viewed as being due to the power of his divine Spirit; at least, it was through this Spirit that he offered up his life as a sacrifice to God.[48] The author no doubt regarded his death as being so unique and significant that the operation of the Spirit to his mind must have played a part in it.

The author's conceptions of Spirit-activities and of salvation had a noticeable effect upon his idea of Jesus' life and person. His interest was not in the popular conceptions of the Spirit, though he recognizes the popular gifts of the Spirit as a subsidiary witness to the salvation revealed through Jesus and the apostles.[49] He is primarily interested in the revelation which the divine Son brought from heaven and delivered to men through the mediation of the Spirit.[50] Jesus revealed a knowledge of God through his sinless life and his sacrificial death. The work of the Spirit was revelation, the enlightenment of the believer; this is also the office and work of the divine being resident in Jesus. Again the author conceives of the patient endurance of suffering as one of the believer's duties and lot, the strength for which he was to derive from his union with the deity through enlightenment. So he thinks of Jesus as having been made perfect through suffering.[51] Furthermore the author believes that the possession of the Spirit in the believer was a permanent matter. He applies this notion to Jesus' endowment and conceives of him as permanently inhabited by a divine being.

The author thinks of salvation as an inner and abiding covenant-relation between God and man. The present life affords a mere foretaste of the results of this relationship. A man can already gain access to the throne of God. And because the author thinks of the free and direct access to God as one of the present attainments of the believer, he

[47] Heb. 5:7-10.
[48] Heb. 9:14.
[49] Heb. 2:3, 4.
[50] Heb. 9:8; 10:15.
[51] Heb. 2:10 *et al.*

regards Jesus as the one who in his earthly career first of all opened up the way into the Holy of Holies. But the future has a perfect Sabbath rest and an eternal inheritance in store for the enlightened. In accord with this future outlook the author places the emphasis upon the exalted Christ, who because of his sinlessness and death was made to sit at the right hand of God and now occupies a place above the angels and above the great worthies of the past. He has become the great Messianic highpriest, the mediator of a new covenant. This great heavenly highpriest therefore occupies the more prominent place in his thinking than the earthly Jesus, just because he views the future life as being so much more perfect and significant than the present foretaste of the Spirit.

With the author of Revelation the earthly Jesus comes very seldom into view. He knows of Jesus' Davidic descent,[52] and believes that from his birth he was called to be the Messiah.[53] He emphasizes the death of Jesus, for he is the Lamb that was slain; and the fact of his death or martyrdom formed the basis for his present exalted state, for he was thereby made worthy to receive power, wisdom and glory.[54] But after all in our author's thinking the figure of the heavenly Messiah is central. The heavenly Christ is a divine spiritual being who is put in command of all the heavenly forces and makes use of the angels and spirits in heaven to fight against Satan and his evil forces, both in heaven and on earth.[55] One of the functions of this divine being was also to reveal to such prophets as the author the divine plan of the future.[56]

The ideas of the book are clearly tinctured by the experiences of the author and by current religious conceptions. He was writing at a time when the present held very little hope of salvation for the believer. All he could expect in this life was persecution. Hence salvation was viewed as a matter of the future. This accounts for the author's preponderating interest in the future Messiah. So strong is this emphasis upon the future that the author practically ignores the Messianic

[52] Rev. 5:5; 22:16.

[53] Rev. 12:5. The author here perhaps reveals an acquaintance with traditions similar to those in the infancy stories of Matthew and Luke.

[54] Rev. 5:9, 12.

[55] On the title, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, which the author of Revelation applies to Christ (17:14; 19:16) see Pfleider r, Ear. Xtian Concep. of Xt, ch. 5, where this conception is treated from the standpoint of comparative religion.

[56] Rev. 1:1.

significance of Jesus' earthly life. He has him caught up into heaven, it seems, immediately after birth in order that he might be shielded from his enemies until the time when he should have acquired power to overcome them.[57] The author clothes his idea of the Messiah in the current Apocalyptic figures and notions, but he does this mainly because of the suffering which he and his fellow-Christians were enduring at the hands of the Roman authorities. Apocalypticism was a form of thought quite often resorted to in order to encourage those who were suffering persecution or were facing a national crisis. That our author's idea of Jesus was conditioned by current Apocalyptic notions was to be expected under the circumstances.

It might be remarked in passing that the author's consciousness of his own prophetic endowment led him to ascribe the same spiritual power and function to the heavenly Christ.[58]

The fourth Gospel presents a very interesting study of the spiritual element in the earthly Jesus. The author gives us practically the same three-fold picture of Jesus as we found in Paul and Hebrews, though a different terminology is used to describe the divine element in Jesus' personality. He uses the technical term of the philosophers and the Gnostics, the Logos, to denote the pre-existent Christ. His conception is that this heavenly being, the hypostatized Word of God, who was constituted of the same divine substance as God and was God's agent in creation and the giver of light and life to the whole universe, came down from heaven and became incarnate in Jesus.[59] When this incarnation took place is not definitely stated, though it is to be presumed that the author conceived of it as occurring at the birth of Jesus. At least, the descent of the Spirit at his baptism was not for his own spiritual endowment, which in view of the fact that he was the incarnate Logos, he would not need; it was to point him out to John the Baptist as the Savior of the world and the Son of God.[60]

The earthly career of Jesus is depicted in such a way as to comport with the author's idea of his divine personality. His remarkable character and power are first of all manifest in his miracles, which are regarded not so much as works of love and helpfulness as they are signs

[57] Rev. 12:5.

[58] Cf. Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 1:1.

[59] John 1:1-14.

[60] John 1:32-33. Notice that John in this connection says the Spirit "abode upon him." He does not say that the Spirit entered into him.

of Jesus' glory.[61] They are wrought not because Jesus' faith and love impelled him to do so, but because he wants them to lead men to believe in him. He has become the Christ of faith even in his earthly life.

Again, his Logos-nature manifested itself in his supernatural knowledge and in the majestic dignity of his person. He knew the secrets of men's hearts, and was aware of what was occurring at a distance.[62] His personality was so awe-inspiring that the Greeks hesitated to approach him, and those who came to arrest him were so overcome by his presence as to fall to the ground.[63] His dignity of person was such as to create a sort of a spirit of aloofness and condescension in him.[64] No mention is made by John of his association with publicans and sinners. And his human compassion, which was so prominent in the Synoptic account, is largely supplanted by his desire to glorify himself or to win the faith of men in himself. This is especially evident in the story of the raising of Lazarus.[65] Even his weeping on this occasion was not caused so much—at least we believe this to be the author's representation—by his regret for Lazarus' death, for how could he mourn in view of his belief that he could and would raise Lazarus from the dead, as by the evidence which the weeping of Mary and the Jews gave of their unbelief in him as the resurrection and the life.[66]

Again, in conformity with his heightened idea of the personality of Jesus the author represents him as being the complete master of any situation that confronts him. He is free from any human or external compulsion. He acts and lives according to a life-plan that has all been mapped out beforehand. He will not act, nor can anyone harm him, until his hour comes.[67] His death was purely a voluntary matter, for his enemies could not have put him to death had he not desired it.[68]

Jesus' divine character is finally and especially manifest in his message. His words attest his divine nature and proclaim him to be the revealer of God.[69] If men believe his message regarding his coming

[61] John 2:11; 9:3; 11:40.
[62] John 2:25; 4:18; 11:11.
[63] John 12:21; 18:6.
[64] John 13:3, 4; 16:15.
[65] John 11:4, 42.
[66] John 11:33.
[67] John 2:4; 7:30; 8:20; 11:9.
[68] John 10:18; 19:11.
[69] John 5:24, 34, 47; 6:63, 68; 15:3.

down from above to bring light and life to men, they will obtain salvation.

It is in these various ways that the author gives evidence of the presence of the Logos in the human Jesus.[70] And the question naturally arises as to why John should have placed such emphasis upon the earthly life of Jesus and should have idealized it in such a way. The answer lies chiefly in his idea of salvation, which to him meant a present realization. The Messiah had delayed his coming and the Christians had begun, at least in some circles, to give up hope in his return to earth. As a result they began to believe that Jesus was really the Messiah while he was upon earth and that he had completed his Messianic work at that time. The revelation which he had made was final, at least so far as his connection with it was concerned. Hence they considered themselves as being not only by anticipation, but in present reality, members of the Messianic kingdom. Since their salvation depended upon the past work of Christ, they naturally emphasized the significance of his earthly career. And the Spirit, which under the Apocalyptic regime was to signal the incipiency of the Messianic age, was now regarded as the mark of the completion of Jesus' Messianic work, sent as a substitute for his Parousia.[71]

The author's idea of gnosis as constituting salvation also had an influence in his conception of Jesus' spiritual activity and endowment. It was for this reason no doubt that he portrays Jesus as the revealer of the truth and places such stress upon his omniscience. And since the possession of this gnosis resulted in the permanent union of the believer with his Lord, the possession by Jesus of a divine being who resided in him permanently is likewise asserted. The man who possessed this gnosis was assured of eternal life; hence Jesus is portrayed as the life-giver. And the result of the possession of divine knowledge is also viewed as an enlightenment; the believer became a son of light. Jesus is therefore conceived of as the bringer of light; in fact, he is the light itself. Thus we see how the author read into the life of Jesus the interpretations which he put upon the results of the Christians' pneumatic experiences.

It should be noticed here that the author was influenced by the religious thought of his day, especially in his conceptions of the incarnate Logos, conceptions which had their roots both in Greek philosophy and in Oriental mysticism. It was quite a general belief in ancient

[70] For a fuller presentation of the above points see Scott, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 145 ff.

[71] John 14:18; 16:16.

times that there were two worlds, a heavenly one in which the Supreme Deity reigned, and a material world which was the kingdom of Satan and the evil spirits. The soul of man was regarded as coming down from heaven, but was imprisoned in a material body during its sojourn upon earth. The only way that the soul could be released and find its way back to heaven was through the help of a god who would descend from heaven for this purpose. When the Supreme Deity came to be regarded as being too holy and pure to come into contact with the world, it was believed that he would send his Son or another heavenly being to act as his representative or vicegerent, in order to aid men in overcoming the evil powers that opposed them. If a man could become united with this divine representative of the deity, he could be assured of deliverance from these evil forces now and of a blessed immortality in the future. This union was effected either by the performance of some ritual, by an ecstatic experience, or by the acquiring of a gnosis or divine revelation which this representative of the deity would bring from heaven. In New Testament times the last form of union with the deity was the conception that prevailed among many people, especially among the Gnostics and mystics.

These are the thought-forms in which the author of the fourth Gospel clothes his conception of the pre-existent Logos and the character and functions of the earthly Jesus. When men recognized Jesus as the Son of God sent from heaven, and obtained the knowledge of God which he brought to earth, they would be enlightened and be saved.[72] The author while picturing Jesus in the light of his experience and in the light of his idea of salvation, is a man of his day in expressing his conceptions in the forms that were used, in his circle at least, in explaining the divine plan of salvation. He here shows close affinity with Oriental mysticism and a certain type of theological speculation which characterized especially the philosophical and religious ideas of the mysteries, Neo-Platonism, and the Gnostics.[73]

In summing up the ideas of the New Testament writers as a whole regarding the life of the earthly Jesus, we might observe that they agree in ascribing to him the possession of a divine constituent which

[72] John 1:18; 17:3; 20:31 *et al.* Notice how in I John 5:1-12 a recognition of Jesus as the incarnate Son of God is made the necessary condition to salvation.

[73] We would not desire to minimize the possible influence of Pauline thought and of the Stoic notion of the Logos upon the conceptions of the author of the fourth Gospel, but we nevertheless believe that the close relation of our author's ideas to the type of thought represented in the mystical cults should also receive due consideration.

they consider to have been the cause and explanation of his remarkable activity and personality while on earth and which gave him the power and right to be called the Messiah or Savior. They further agree in thinking of him as continuing in a risen and glorified state, but in the form and power of the Spirit still abiding with his followers and working in their lives. They differ however (1) in their conception as to when this divine element entered into the human Jesus, (2) in the terminology used to designate this divine increment, (3) in their estimate as to the particular gift which this divine element wrought in and through Jesus, and (4) in the emphasis which they put upon the significance of Jesus' earthly life.

Some thought of the divine element entering Jesus at baptism, others at birth. Some designated this divine constituent as the Holy Spirit, others called it the Son of God, or God's image, still others the Logos, or pre-existent Word of God. In some circles the chief spiritual gift of Jesus was that of prophecy, in others it was the gift of healing and of power, in others a life of obedience and virtue, in still others the gift of knowledge or revelation. Some regarded the heavenly Christ as of greatest importance to their salvation, others placed the emphasis equally upon his earthly and heavenly states of existence, while still others considered his earthly life as of greatest significance. These variations of opinion were due in the main to four causes: (1) the different interpretations which the Christians put upon their pneumatic experiences; (2) the diversity of their opinions as to what they got from these experiences; (3) their different notions as to when they would obtain salvation; and (4) the variation in their religious training and environment, which may be said to a greater or less extent to have conditioned also the first three causes.

A word might be said in conclusion as to the help which the early Christians' interpretation of Jesus' spiritual endowment gave them in the propagation of their cult. In the first place, they asserted in their competition with the John the Baptist cult that their religion was superior to John's because the divine element in Jesus' personality surpassed that in John's, a point which John himself is said by the Christians to have acknowledged.[74] As a result of this difference they believed that Jesus could dispense the Spirit, and could endow his followers with divine power, a feature that was evidently lacking in

[74] Mark 1:2-7; John 1:15 *et al.*

John's cult.[75] The Christians could in this way offer more to the people than could the followers of John.

Then to those who were looking for a great teacher and longed for an authoritative presentation either of God's will or of high ethical ideals, the Christians could present the idea of Jesus, the Spirit-endowed prophet and teacher. This seems to have been one of the objects which the authors of the non-Marcan sources of Matthew and Luke had in mind when they wrote their documents. Again, those who demanded the exhibition of power in their hero-god, and were yearning for help to get rid of the demons of which they were in constant dread, could find satisfaction in the Jesus of Mark, who by the power of the "genius" within him was able to conquer all the evil forces of this world whether visible or invisible. This would particularly attract the Roman type of mind. The conversion of Sergius Paulus[76] which was due to the fact that the Spirit in Paul proved stronger than the spirit in the magician is an example of how this conception would appeal to the power-loving Romans. Then the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke would satisfy those who were familiar with the idea of the supernatural birth of heroes and gods. Again, the conception of Christ as a heavenly being come down from above, assuming human form, teaching men the way to God and to heaven, suffering death and again returning to his heavenly abode, the picture we have portrayed of Jesus in Paul, Hebrews and John, must have powerfully appealed to those who were mystically inclined or given to theological speculation. And to those who could find no satisfaction in this world but looked to the future for their salvation, the picture of Jesus as the heavenly Messiah or as a dying and rising deity would be particularly attractive. It is no wonder that with such a power of adaptation and with the ability to minister to such a large number of classes of people Christianity should have finally triumphed over all her competitors.

[75] See especially Acts 19:1-7.

[76] Acts 13:4-12.

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